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GENERAL GRANT'S LETTERS TO A FRIEND, 1862-1880.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY GENERAL JAMES GRANT WILSON.

Perhaps no person unconnected with the army contributed in so great a degree to General Grant's success in the Civil War as the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, to whom the following extremely interesting letters, and parts of letters, were addressed by the illustrious soldier during a period of eighteen years. These letters now appear in print for the first time. They are certainly of great historical value, and reveal in a very interesting way some of the strongest and most admirable traits of General Grant's character, and his views upon men and affairs in the United States and in some of the countries which he visited in the course of his tour around the world. His remarks upon the character and result of British rule in India, and upon the progressive spirit of the Japanese people, will be read with special interest. Mr. Washburne (1816-1887) was the member of Congress from Galena, Ill., where Grant was employed at the beginning of the war. The two men first met at that time; they immediately became friends, and during the great struggle Washburne was the constant supporter and sturdy defender of the Silent Commander, who would never defend himself from the shameful charges that were frequently made against his private character, and also as a soldier. When Grant became President he appointed Mr. Washburne his Secretary of State, but after occupying that high office for a few weeks, he was sent as the American representative to France. He filled that position with pre-eminent ability and signal distinction, publishing after his return to the United States a valuable and interesting work in two octavo volumes entitled *Recollections of a Minister to France*, 1869-1877.

JAS. GRANT WILSON.

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I.

LA GRANGE, TENN., NOVEMBER 7th, 1862.

Not having much of special note to write you since your visit to Jackson, and knowing that you were fully engaged, I have not troubled you with a letter. I write now a little on selfish grounds.

I see from the papers that Mr. * * * * * is to be called near the President in some capacity. I believe him to be one of my bitterest enemies. The grounds of his enmity I suppose to be the course I pursued whilst at Cairo toward certain contractors and speculators who wished to make fortunes off of the soldiers and government, and in which he took much interest, whether a partner or not. He called on me in regard to the rights of a post sutler for Cairo (an appointment not known to the law) whom he had got appointed. Finding that I would regard him in the light of any other merchant who might set up there, that I would neither secure him a monopoly of the trade nor his pay at the pay table for such as he might trust out, the sutler never made his appearance. If he did he never made himself known to me.

In the case of some contracts that were given out for the supply of forage, they were given, if not to the very highest bidder, to far from the lowest, and full 30 per cent. higher than the articles could have been bought for at that time. Learning these facts, I immediately annulled the contracts.

Quite a number of car-loads of grain and hay were brought to Cairo on these contracts, and a change of Quartermaster having taken place in the meantime the new Quartermaster would not receive them without my order, except at rates he could then get the same articles for from other parties. This I refused to give. The contractors then called on me, and tried to convince me that the obligation was binding, but finding me immovable in the matter, asked if General Allen's approval to the contract would not be sufficient. My reply was, in substance, that General Allen was Chief Quartermaster of the Department, and I could not control him. They immediately left me, and, thinking over the matter, it occurred to me that they would go immediately to St. Louis and present their contract for approval without mentioning the objection I made to it. I then telegraphed to General Allen the

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facts, and put him on his guard against these men. For some reason, however, my dispatch did not reach St. Louis for two days. General Allen then replied to it, stating that those parties had been to him the day before, and knowing no objection to the contract he had approved it.

The parties then returned to Cairo evidently thinking they had gained a great triumph. But there being no money to pay at that time and because of the bad repute the Quartermaster's Department was in, they were afraid to take vouchers without my approval. They again called on me to secure this. My reply to them was that they had obtained their contract without my consent, had got it approved against my sense of duty to the government, and they might go on and deliver their forage and get their pay in the same way. I would never approve a voucher for them under that contract if they never got a cent. I hoped they would not. This forced them to abandon the contract and to sell the forage already delivered for what it was worth.

Mr. * * * * * took much interest in this matter and wrote me one or more letters on the subject, rather offensive in their manner. These letters I have preserved, but they are locked up in Mr. Safford's safe in Cairo. I afterwards learned from undoubted authority that there was a combination of wealthy and influential citizens formed, at the beginning of this war, for the purpose of monopolizing the army contracts. One of their boasts was that they had sufficient influence to remove any General who did not please them.

The *modus operandi* for getting contracts at a high rate, I suppose, was for a member of this association to put in bids commencing at as low rates as the articles could be furnished for, and after they were opened all would retire up to the highest one who was below any outside person and let him take it. In many instances probably they could buy off this one for a low figure by assuring him that he could not possibly get the contract, for if he did not retire it would be held by the party below.

II.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 4th, 1867.

Your telegraphic dispatch in favor of the confirmation of General Dix,* also your letter, partly on the same subject, were

* As United States Minister to France.

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duly received. I lost no time in communicating the substance of your dispatch to as many Senators as I could. I am glad to be able to announce to you this morning a fact which you will, no doubt, learn by telegraph long before this reaches you, that the Senate has confirmed him.

Reconstruction measures have passed both houses of Congress over one of the most ridiculous veto messages that ever emanated from any President.* Jerry Black† is supposed to be the author of it. He has been about Washington for some time, and I am told has been a great deal about the White House. It is a fitting end to all our controversy (I believe this last measure is to be a solution unless the President proves an obstruction) that the man who tried to prove at the beginning of our domestic difficulties that the nation had no constitutional power to save itself is now trying to prove that the nation has not now the power after a victory to demand security for the future. I hope you will see this message, Reverdy Johnson's remarks, and Governor Brown's (of Georgia) letter, and contrast the two latter with the former.

III.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 9th, 1869.

I have been pained to learn that a man upon whom I have conferred an appointment should have been a lobbyist to Congress (in the McGarrahan case) and failing to get the vote he wished from the committee having the matter in charge, should become the traducer of the committee which, it seems, were within one of being unanimous in their report. It seems that * * * * * has been acting in this way, and very much to the prejudice of Wilson particularly, the chairman of the committee. It may be that * * * * * is misrepresented in this matter, but I understand that the correspondents who are traducing Wilson give * * * * * as their authority. Now you know, and I presume * * * * * did, that there was no man in the Fortieth Congress for whom I had a higher regard than for the Hon. J. F. Wilson,‡ and that he was one of the men whom I confidently hoped to have connected with my administra-

* The quarrel between President Johnson and the Republican majority in Congress was at this time at its height. Every bill vetoed by the President was passed over his veto.

† The Hon. J. S. Black (1810-1883), Attorney General in Buchanan's Cabinet, and the successor of General Cass as Secretary of State.

‡ James F. Wilson (1828-1895) for two terms United States Senator from Iowa.

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tion. To have him slandered over my shoulders, I feel as I would to have you, who stood by me through evil as well as through good report, slandered in the same way. I do not believe you care to have with you as Secretary of Legation a man guilty of such conduct. Of course this is presuming his guilt before hearing the other side. I would be but too glad to have the report authentically contradicted. But as the matter stands now Wilson feels terribly aggrieved, and I think very justly so. * * * * * has no doubt read what the correspondents Piatt and Boynton have said in this matter and knows how far they are sustained in them by his statements. His opinion of their opinion of the merits of the McGarrahan claim, or what they say about the report of the committee upon it, I have nothing to do with. The matter which concerns me is the statement that I have been influenced in my course toward Wilson by reason of dissatisfaction with his public acts, and that my notice has been called to them through some agency of * * * * *.

IV.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 7th, 1869.

Our mutual and much esteemed friend, General Rawlins,* expired yesterday after, as you are aware, years of gradual decline. Although he has lived far beyond what his most sanguine friends hoped, yet his final taking off has produced a shock which would be felt for but few of our public men. He retained his consciousness up to within a few minutes of his death. Although I was not with him in his dying hours, I am told that his greatest concern seemed to be for his destitute family. I was at Saratoga when his rapid decline commenced. The first dispatch I received indicating any immediate danger was on Saturday evening, or night, after the last train had left. I was compelled to remain until Sunday evening, and arrived consequently about forty minutes after he had breathed his last.

I have been intending for months to write you, and have no special excuse for not doing so, except that when I do get alone for an hour I always happen to have something to do. Whilst I have been away this summer I have been very much let alone by people who have an axe to grind, but there has scarcely ever

*John A. Rawlins (1831–1869) joined General Grant's staff in August, 1861, and served with him to the close of the rebellion. He became Secretary of War in 1869. Grant was greatly attached to him.

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been a minute when there were not callers. You will see by the official statements that the first six months of the administration have been successful in improving the revenue collections, and somewhat in reducing expenses. The showing is a reduction of forty-nine million of the public debt. The actual decrease is greater. McCulloch* kept no interest account, consequently on the 4th of March no interest due that day, or coupons overdue but not presented for payment, appeared as a part of the public debt. We have actually paid about six million in gold of old coupons which the statements give no credit for. In addition to this, we have paid probably as much as two million in currency on contracts fulfilled and purchases made before the 1st of March, which is another *dead horse* paid for.

V.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jany. 28th, 1870.

I received your interesting personal letter a day or two ago and snatch a few moments to answer it. In reality I have no quiet time in which to write letters, scarcely to read the current news of the day. The continuous press of people continues yet about as it was last spring. You will see by the papers that the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment is assured. With this question out of politics, and reconstruction completed, I hope to see such good feeling in Congress as to secure rapid legislation and an early adjournment. My peace is when Congress is not in session. My family are all well and wish to be remembered to Mrs. Washburne, the children, and yourself. The Emperor has been kind enough to send me pleasant messages several times, which please say to him have been duly received and are highly appreciated.

Please convey to him my best wishes for a continuance of his good health and the happiness and prosperity of the people over whom he has been called to rule. It has been the desire of my life to visit Europe and particularly France, but so far I have been too busy. If spared to get through my present office, I shall take a year or two to visit those parts of the world I have not yet seen.

*Hon. Hugh McCulloch (1808-1895), Secretary of the Treasury in the administrations of Lincoln, Johnson and Arthur.

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VI.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10th, 1870.

I have received your recent letters, two in regard to Gen. Robert Anderson. I do not know how anything can be done for the General at present, but I do know, or at least feel, that the American people will never permit his family to suffer. Should the worst happen, the General and his family will be taken care of. I would start the matter, and what is or has been done for Rawlins' and Stanton's families would probably be done for General Anderson's.

Congress is soon to adjourn. The reflection is almost a compensation for the suffering endured during its session. If it were not for the feeling of loyalty of the people, and the almost certainty that a Democratic success would be repudiation and surrender to old Southern leaders, there is but little doubt but that the Republican party would lose control of the country at the next election. Lack of attention to material interests, wrangling among themselves, dividing and allowing the few Democrats to be the balance to fix amendments to every important measure (and voting against the whole bill when brought to a vote), attacking each other and the administration when any individual's views were not conformed to, has put the party in a very bad light. I think everything will be right two years hence, and that members see the errors they have committed. I shall hope so at least. If we had had a short session of Congress, and harmonious, the party would never have been on as strong a footing as now. All that was necessary to do was to pass the appropriation bills, admit the outstanding States, pass a funding bill and promise the people a reduction of eighty million of taxes at their next session. We could well spare that amount if the public debt bore but five per cent.

VII.

LONG BRANCH, N. J., Aug. 22d, 1870.

When I wrote to you last, although it was but a few days before the declaration of war by France, I had no idea that such an event was even threatening. I was taken by surprise as Napoleon admits he was in one of [King] William's attacks.

The result, as we read right in our papers, has surprised me.

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I supposed from the declaration of war coming from the French they would be all ready, while the Prussians might not be fully so, and therefore, at the beginning, the French would have it all their own way. The Prussian military system is so perfect, however, that I believed singlehanded they would be too much for the French in the end. The war has developed the fact here that every unreconstructed rebel sympathizes with France, without exception, while the loyal element is almost as universally the other way. Poor Napoleon, I suppose, will retire to private life.

VIII.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 26th, 1872.

I wrote you a long letter just before the meeting of the Cincinnati Convention, but as I did not complete it before that event, and as most of the letter was upon the subject of that Convention, I did not send it. The work has been done and no one is satisfied but Greeley himself and a few Tammany Republicans who expect office under him, if he is elected, and who know that under no other man could they be appointed to office. I predict that Greeley will not even be a candidate when the election comes off. The Democracy are not going to take him, and his following in the Republican ranks is not sufficient to make up an electoral ticket, nor is it composed of respectability enough to put on such a ticket. His nomination has had a good effect, however. It has apparently harmonized the party by getting out of it the "soreheads" and knaves who made all the trouble because they could not control. The movement was egged on by the Democrats, the rank and file acting in good faith, until now the effect upon them is just what the leaders intended it should be upon the Republicans; it is dividing their party. Many of the Democratic papers, particularly in the South, have committed themselves so thoroughly that they will have to go to Baltimore on the 9th of July in support of Greeley. Many others will go there to break up the Cincinnati ticket by putting one of its candidates at the tail of a new ticket, and Adams, Davis, or Trumbull at the head. The old Hunkers will fight all such movements, and, in my judgment, will carry the day, but will create great disaffection in their ranks. We will soon see how my prediction comes out.

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IX.

LONG BRANCH, N. J., August 26th, 1872.

Your confidential letter relating to the probable position of Curtin * was received during my last visit to Washington. He, Curtin, probably arrived in New York City yesterday, Sunday; but there is no communication between this and the outside world on Sunday except by telegraph, so that I do not know positively. I expect him to come and see me as soon as he does arrive, though I know he will be met on arrival, and everything possible will be offered him to corrupt him. The Greeleyites will be as liberal in their offers to him as Satan was to our Saviour, and with as little ability to pay. Curtin's defection would probably cost us the State of Pennsylvania in October so far as the Governor and legislature are concerned, but without him the Congressmen at large, three of them, and Judge of the Superior Court and other officers on the State ticket would be elected, and we would carry the State in November.

I do not often indulge in predictions, but I have had a feeling that Greeley might not even be in the field in November. If he is I do not think he will carry a single Northern State. In the South I give him Tennessee and Texas, with Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Georgia, Florida, and Arkansas doubtful, with the chances in our favor in all of them except Maryland. Missouri might also be added to the doubtful States.† This is the way matters look now, but they may be modified before November. We "shall see what we shall see" before long.

X.

LONG BRANCH, N. J., August 23d, 1875.

I have been intending for a long time to write to you, but I have so got out of the way of writing social letters that I have not now left a single correspondent—not even in my own family—except on official business. I have nothing now special to say further than that I am always glad to hear from you. In political matters you keep posted through the press, and are no doubt struck with the chronic annual scare of the Republicans lest the Democrats should get into power. Just now the Ohio election is

* Governor Curtin was appointed Minister to Russia by General Grant in 1869. On his return in 1872 he supported Mr. Horace Greeley for the presidency.

† Mr. Greeley carried only the States of Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas.

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frightening them. They seem to feel as though the loss of Ohio this fall would insure a Democratic victory next year and lead to inflation of the currency, repudiation, the undoing of all that has been accomplished by the war and Republican Administrations in the way of re-construction, and national disgrace. I take a much more hopeful view of the situation. I am anxious of course to see the Republicans carry Ohio. But if they should not I should not feel in the least discouraged. The fact is that while Ohio is sound by one hundred thousand majority on the financial issue, and the Republicans have not a sound platform on that issue, and the Democrats a very unsound and dishonest one, if Ohio is lost in this election it will be on this question alone. So much time elapses between nominations and elections that the Democrats will all be whipped into line on the ground that the question now at issue is only which of the two parties they would rather see control the State. They are not voting for an executive of the nation, nor for lawmakers who can legislate on the subject of national finances. In the Republican ranks there are very many men who are in debt, or whose business has slackened, that think an abundant currency would help them out of their difficulties, and who will not vote, or if they do vote, it will be against their party. I believe that if the Democratic party carries Ohio this fall, it will give the repudiationists—for inflation means repudiation—such a prestige in the nominating convention next year that the hard-money men of the party, including all from the Pacific Coast, all New England, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Texas, and some from other States, will split and put up two tickets as they did in 1860. If so, the race in 1876 will be an easy one. With a contrary result there will probably be but two tickets, both on a moderately sound financial platform.

I did not think of writing so much of a political letter as I have done, but it may interest you to hear private views on this subject. On the question of candidates for next year there seems to be nothing definite to base a prediction upon as to who will be the standard bearers.

(*To be continued.*)

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THE GREENBACK AND THE GOLD STANDARD.

BY THE HON. MARRIOTT BROSIUS.

It is a matter of deep public concern that many of the proposals to reform our monetary system include the retirement of the legal-tender notes known as "greenbacks," and the issue in lieu thereof of National Bank currency; and it brings into the field of public interest and discussion the question how this would affect the gold standard. While many of the complaints made against the greenbacks are grotesque enough to suggest the celebrated complaint of Sydney Smith against the solar system, when he said to his friend Jeffrey: "D—n the solar system; bad light, planets too distant, pestered with comets, feeble contrivance, could make a better with ease"—yet they raise a real question which requires grave and considerate treatment.

We will, perhaps, agree that it is requisite to the general tranquility and prosperity that we not only be able to maintain the gold standard, but that the people have faith that we will do so. As practical legislators we must deal with the question in this twofold aspect. Any proposal that does not command popular belief in its efficacy will be disquieting; while it is desirable, as far as possible, to compose the public mind. It is doubtful, indeed, if our malady will yield to any treatment against the dead weight of the people's lack of faith.

To maintain the gold-standard requires the command at all times of gold enough to liquidate our gold obligations as they mature. This requirement, easy as it is ordinarily, under certain conditions is extremely difficult, under some impossible. For example, under the conditions which prevailed from the resumption of specie payments down to 1892, a period of thirteen years, it was free from difficulty. On the first day the Resumption Act was in operation the current of gold set in

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the direction of the Treasury. At the close of business on Monday, the second day of January, 1879, this message came to the Secretary from the office of the Sub-Treasurer in New York: "$135,000 of notes presented for coin and $400,000 of gold for notes." By 1887 our Treasury was richer in gold than any other in the world. Down to 1892 the gold movement was toward this country. The influx was so constant and so well assured that a depleted reserve was a thing undreamed of. It was realized, however, when conditions supervened which would have caused it under any possible currency system, and neither our greenbacks nor our banking system had any more agency in bringing it about than had the Turkish massacre of Armenian Christians.

Under conditions of commercial freedom and while the normal operation of the laws of exchange are uninterrupted, the distribution of gold among the gold standard countries is effected chiefly through the agency of price. If there is a dearth of gold in one country, the contraction of the money volume causes a fall in prices and a rise in interest which stimulates exports and attracts gold to replenish the stock and restore the equilibrium. This is the simple theory time out of mind, promulgated by political economists.

This automatic method of securing to each country its share of money may in practice undergo modifications due to modern extension of credit, the collection of customs duties, and the difference in the situation of debtor and creditor nations; but these considerations may be omitted for the present.

Under the modern régime of banks and credit currency, most nations find it convenient to regulate their gold reserve to some extent by artificial means, and their banking systems have been modelled with that end in view.

The Bank of England may stand for the European type, as far at least as its mode of guarding its reserves is concerned. Under that system this is the sequence of events: First, unfavorable exchange; second, outflow of gold and depleted reserves; third, raising of discount rates; fourth, contraction of currency; fifth, fall of prices; sixth, favorable exchange and return of gold.

Those who support the proposal to relegate the issue of paper money and the control of redemption to the banks exclusively

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point to the Bank of England as an example of the better way of protecting the gold reserve. But it is obvious enough that such a method would be wholly abortive in this country under our free banking system, because unsuitable to our conditions. To put it in practice would require that banks exercise unrestricted liberty in fixing discount rates, as the Bank of England does. This might result in as many different rates of interest as there are banks and, moreover, would abrogate all State laws governing interest rates, subject to which all discounting is done in our national and State banks.

But suppose we pass these obstacles, how could the banks meet a situation such as we experienced in the recent panic which depleted our reserves? That was a situation not amenable to the normal operation of the laws of trade under which unfavorable exchange tends to work its own cure. In the midst of our trouble the trade balance was largely in our favor, but our securities held abroad came home for payment and turned exchange heavily against us. This unprecedented result was due to an unprecedented condition. Confidence at home and abroad was impaired in the stability of our standard and our ability to redeem our obligations in the money in which they were contracted. How such a condition came about I need not stop to inquire. In diagnosing a gunshot wound the surgeon does not care whether the gun was discharged by accident or design. That inquiry is for the prosecuting attorney. The condition existed, and we realized for the first time that the economic law which regulates the distribution of money under normal conditions is suspended under the pressure of shattered credit and confidence, and that in such case the rate of discount does not control the flow of gold. No rate of interest will attract capital when there is a doubt whether the principal will be paid.

Being a debtor nation, it was in accordance with every reasonable expectation that under such circumstances our securities held abroad should be presented for payment; and when similar conditions recur similar results will ensue, and we will be again subjected to the alternative of borrowing gold or suspending gold payments. No scheme of banking, no form of currency, and no mode of redemption can avert it.

Our annual foreign liability outside of our trade account and

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unregistered in custom-houses amounts, it is believed, to $300,000,000, made up of the following items:

Interest on American securities	$200,000,000
Expenditures of American travellers abroad	75,000,000
Freights and insurance	36,000,000
	$311,000,000

Does any one in a lucid interval believe that we could continue any length of time to pay such a balance in gold? Under normal conditions a large proportion of it would be reinvested or paid in exports, but when the balance is increased by large amounts of securities returned, we have absolutely no recourse except to borrow the gold, or refuse to pay, or contract our currency until prices fall low enough to make our foreign creditors prefer our goods to our gold. It is estimated by well-informed persons that Europe holds $5,000,000,000 of American securities. If we should again yield to the solicitation of the wild and weird money vagaries which afflict a portion of our people, and confidence abroad is again shaken, we cannot expect to escape another inundation of securities which will expose us to the peril of a suspension of gold payments. When that event occurs, which we devoutly pray the good sense of our people may avert, and the question is exigent whether we shall borrow gold, or refuse payment, or lower the price of our goods and ship them off to liquidate our pressing obligations, by whom shall a question of such transcendent moment be decided, by the government or by the private banking corporations? I think the united acclaim of the American people will answer: "Let the government assume the duty, and hold on to the means of deciding a matter affecting the interests of all the people and the honor of the nation."

But it is suggested that the banks are better adapted to the regulation of our finances than the government, and that they have facilities for obtaining gold that the government does not enjoy. Is that true? In a crisis such as we have passed through, when gold had to be borrowed or bought, how could the banks have obtained it and distributed it in the requisite parcels to supply all banks that needed re-enforcement? Their credit is inferior to that of the government. They, taken singly (and they are independent of each other), are weak in influence and limited in means. They can issue no bonds that will command the world's gold. They have nothing to give but

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commercial assets which cannot be exchanged for gold at a time when people are keeping their yellow metal in safe deposit vaults. I recall an instance cited before the Banking and Currency Committee, in which one man had a deposit of $240,000 in gold in a safe deposit vault, and others as large amounts as $40,000, and $50,000. Banks have no means of obtaining gold under such circumstances. But the government in an exigency can command gold from safe deposit vaults, or from the four corners of the globe, as long as the credit of the nation is good. With the reserve parcelled among 4,000 or 10,000 banks, as the case may be, with an export demand falling not ratably upon each, but unequally, the bank that could not meet the draft would suspend ; that would cause others to refuse payment. When the strain was on one section the banks in another would be reluctant to afford relief lest the stress should reach them the next day. The result would be that one at a time, and most likely in rapid succession, they would refuse gold payment. Our history is not without instances of specie suspension, more or less general throughout the country, when the banks were conducting our finances, and when conditions were much more favorable than have existed in the last four years. It is worthy of mention and a striking encomium on our currency system that the United States is the only debtor nation which is able to maintain the parity of all its money. I do not doubt that, but for the government's control of the agencies of redemption through the greenbacks, in the last four years we would have witnessed a most impressive if not distressing demonstration of the feebleness of banks in such a crisis, for while we cannot say it is demonstrably clear, yet the antecedent probabilities strongly favor the assumption, that they could not have maintained gold payments under the pressure of conditions then existing.

Assuming for the purpose of the argument that the banks without government aid could maintain gold redemption under normal conditions by the regulation of discounts, what would the operation be in practice ? They would raise the rate of discount, curtail loans, contract the currency and lower prices so as to stimulate exports and produce favorable exchange. No other mode of inviting the return of gold has been advanced by the friends of an exclusive bank currency. We would certainly deplore the necessity of obtaining gold by that process, for it in-

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volves the reduction of American wages excepting as they are protected by defensive duties. But if the currency must be contracted and prices lowered in order to secure the requisite amount of gold, would it not be preferable for that operation to be conducted under government supervision through the agency of the greenbacks? It would be more uniform in effect and less incident to shocks and local disturbances. It is, moreover, easy of accomplishment without contravening any law or policy of the government as long as we have an adequate revenue; for the Treasury could retain the greenbacks in its vault temporarily, using them when conditions admitted of it to exchange for gold or to reduce the debt. In short, the greenbacks in connection with an adequate revenue are an agency in the hands of the government for the control within limits of the conditions which effect the movement of gold. So that whether we obtain our gold by borrowing, or by the slower process of contracting our currency and lowering prices so as to invite it from abroad, the government enjoys superior facilities for either operation.

From another point of view, the case leans strongly in favor of the greenbacks. A demand for gold to liquidate foreign balances must be met, whether the metal is in the vaults of the Treasury or those of the banks. Our debts must be paid in gold or goods. It is desirable from a business point of view to hold our reserve in such form as to make it most effective in meeting proper demands. It is consonant with reason and every man's observation that a consolidated reserve is more effective than a distributed one.

John Stuart Mill argues with great force that there ought to be a central establishment which is alone required to pay gold, the others being at liberty to pay their notes with those of the central establishment, the object being that there may be one body responsible for maintaining a reserve of the precious metal to meet any demand that could reasonably be expected to be made. This is the system of the United States, though it was not in existence when Mill wrote his great work on the *Principles of Political Economy*. It is also the English system. Our greenbacks sustain the same relation to our bank notes that the Bank of England notes do to the notes of the other English banks. This indirect or circuitous method of gold redemption has its

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advantages, for it hinders the process just enough to prevent the presentation of paper for gold on too frivolous pretexts.

That the greenbacks make possible the "endless chain" which has drained our reserve is a plausible argument, but not a sound one, though it is advanced by eminent financial teachers. Professor Dunbar, in a recent article in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, suggests that, if the borrowing of gold was caused by the endless chain of notes redeemed and re-issued, it was the business of Congress to apply an appropriate remedy by modifying the system of re-issue. Does not the learned professor see that he is prescribing for the symptom rather than the disease? The endless chain is not the malady, but one of the manifestations by which it is known. The malady is the unhappy condition of impaired confidence which sends our obligations home for payment. Cure that and the endless chain ceases. But the professor sins against logic in the same way when he says: "A currency which is exposed to such dangers as these cannot be called safe in any proper sense of the word." Quite true, but neither can a man be said to be in good health when he is shaking with ague, but it is the ague we doctor and not the shaking. Equally unsatisfactory is the suggestion that all our financial difficulties could be solved by a properly constructed banking bill. No one has undertaken to explain how any possible banking system, in which notes are issued redeemable in gold, could afford relief when gold obligations greater in amount than the gold at command are pressing for payment. When conditions exist which are incompatible with the safety of any kind of currency, a change in its form or character with the view of relief would not be more suitable than to change a patient's clothing to stop the shakes while you do nothing to cure the disease which produced them. Symptoms disappear with the disease which causes them. While the malady lasts it is better that symptoms appear, else the patient might die without knowing what killed him.

Under normal conditions of faith and confidence, easily maintained when our people are under the dominion of right reason, there will be no endless chain. For thirteen years we had none. But when conditions supervene which require it, it will be created in one place or another as long as paper currency is issued redeemable in gold. In such a case the endless

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chain is the means of saving the nation's honor, for without it we could not obtain the gold to pay our foreign balances, and to condemn it when conditions require it is like condemning the pustules on a man's face when he has the small-pox, though they are the means of expelling the poison which otherwise would be fatal.

If the banks have the control of redemption, the endless chain will draw their gold as effectually as it draws it from the Treasury. When banks redeem their paper, it is issued to the next man who obtains a discount, and may come back for more gold; and so the chain continues until the banks raise the rate or stop discounting. Indeed, the desire to escape the export of gold to pay our debts by breaking the endless chain betrays an insensibility to the real nature of the situation. The better way to get rid of the endless chain is to inspire all who have fiscal relations with us with a confidence in the stability of our standard that will induce them to leave their money in American investments, and so forego the demand which sets the chain in motion.

But there is another difficulty of still greater gravity which seems not to have been much considered. The government has undertaken, and Congress has declared it to be its established policy, to maintain the parity of the two metals. When we have retired the greenbacks and parted with our gold reserve, what means are left the government to perform that undertaking and redeem that pledge? Having surrendered the means of performance, we must logically renounce the duty and relinquish all control over redemption—which is the agency through which we maintain the parity of our money—and thus voluntarily abdicate our sovereignty over our own money.

When this is done and the banks have assumed the responsibility, which the government has surrendered, of maintaining the parity of the metals, what facilities do they possess for this undertaking? To keep up the credit of their notes, issuing banks would have to elect, as the government now does, to redeem in gold. They might, under certain conditions, be required to redeem silver in gold. Who knows whether, with half of their reserves in silver, they would not redeem in white metal, either from choice or necessity, when paper was presented for gold to use in foreign payments; and, if so, the parity would be gone and we would be on a silver basis, for the holder of the paper

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would have no recourse but to go into the market and purchase the gold, which would at once put gold at a premium.

With the volume of our money consisting of three nearly equal parts, of gold, and silver worth half its face, and paper worth nothing except as it acquires value by convertibility, it is a Herculean task, to which private institutions are wholly unequal, to maintain their parity. Only the power of the federal government, with the people's wealth and faith upholding it, is commensurate with such a task. Silver is now equivalent to gold in purchasing power. It is held to that equivalence by the power of a people's faith in the nation's pledges. We have witnessed how at times the strongest faith wavered and the stoutest hearts faltered in their belief in the power of the government to keep the metals at a parity. Does any one believe in the existence of a popular faith in the potency of private banking corporations that would be adequate to the undertaking? Is it not as plain as the way to parish church that while we are using silver on a gold basis with the disparity in value now existing, we must keep the government in a position to protect it or we will be liable under the pressure of a gold exigency quite within the range of possible occurrence to fall to a silver basis.

Ours is a new country with unrivalled resources, which have been and will continue to be, to a greater or less extent, developed by foreign capital. We will be a debtor nation for a long time. Our industrial activity, enterprise, and high rate of interest invite capital from abroad. The securities which cross and recross the ocean are American securities. In normal conditions of confidence there will be no difficulties. Any system of currency will do under favorable conditions, as any boat will sail on a smooth sea. But adverse conditions are liable to occur and our system of currency should be modelled with that in view.

The conclusion seems, therefore, irresistible that to deprive the federal government of the means of maintaining gold payments and preserving the parity of all our money, and to relegate those important and responsible functions to private banking institutions, would be full of peril to our gold standard, and a serious and constant menace to our financial interests.

MARRIOTT BROSIUS.

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EDUCATION IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

BY DANIEL LOGAN, EDITOR OF THE HONOLULU "EVENING BULLETIN."

NOT least among the exhibits of civilization which the Republic of Hawaii is able to make to the world is its educational system. In the year 1896 about thirteen in every hundred, or a little more than one-eighth of the entire population of the group, were enrolled in the public and private schools. Taking by themselves the native Hawaiians of full and mixed blood, something like one in every seven of them was on the school registers last year. For many years in the past it was rare to find a native Hawaiian who could not read and write his native language. There is a change now, but without retrogression. It consists of a rapid advance toward an equally universal command of English by the native people. As will be seen by figures quoted later, schooling in the Hawaiian language has been all but abandoned.

Early in the civilized government of the Hawaiian Islands a department of education was instituted. It was an outgrowth of schools which were established by the American missionaries. At the outset, the public schools were taught in the Hawaiian language. Schools taught partly or wholly in English were started as the foreign population increased. In course of time, the better classes of Hawaiians, particularly those of chiefly rank, manifested a desire for an English education. Then English schools were instituted upon the request of a certain number of residents. The Royal School, now belonging to the public system in Honolulu, was established at that time and it was so named because there the young chiefs and scions of royalty were to be educated. Kalakaua and Liliuokalani studied there. English was taught as a classic in the large mission schools at an early period. It was recognized as the vernacular in 1876 at the impor-

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tant Lahaina-luna seminary, afterward becoming in that institution the dominant medium of instruction. Gradually English came to predominate until last year, when teaching in this language became compulsory in all schools, private as well as public. The law requires that every child from five to fifteen years of age, inclusive, shall attend either a public or private school taught in English. Special police called "truant officers" are appointed in every district to enforce the compulsory attendance clause.

The following is a table showing the attendance of pupils, by nationalities, at all schools in the Hawaiian Islands for the year 1896:

Nationality.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Hawaiian	3,048	2,432	5,480
Part Hawaiian	1,152	1,296	2,448
American	219	198	417
British	105	151	256
German	152	136	288
Portuguese	2,066	1,534	3,600
Scandinavian	51	47	98
Japanese	242	155	397
Chinese	641	280	921
South Sea Island	15	13	28
Other Foreign	57	33	90
Grand total	7,748	6,275	14,023

The teachers and pupils of both government and independent schools, with the number of schools of each class, will be found separately enumerated in the following table:

	No. of schools.	Teachers.			Pupils.		
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Government	132	111	169	280	5,754	4,435	10,189
Independent	63	72	130	202	1,994	1,840	3,834
Grand totals	195	183	299	482	7,748	6,275	14,023

Of the foregoing there are two government schools taught in Hawaiian by as many male teachers, having 22 male and 26 female pupils, a total of 48. By nationalities, the teachers in government schools are classified thus: 49 Hawaiian, 53 part

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Hawaiian, 105 American, 52 British, 2 German, 1 French, 1 Belgian, 5 Scandinavian, 11 Portuguese, 1 Chinese. The nationalities of teachers in independent schools are as follows: 15 Hawaiian, 10 part Hawaiian, 121 American, 24 British, 6 German, 4 French, 6 Belgian, 1 Dutch, 1 Scandinavian, 2 Portuguese, 2 Japanese, 11 Chinese.

Here is a comparative statement of school attendance in six years:

	1880.	1890.	1892.	1894.	1896.	1897.
Hawaiian	5,320	5,599	5,353	5,177	5,207	5,480
Part Hawaiian	1,247	1,573	1,866	2,103	2,198	2,448
American	253	259	371	285	386	417
British	163	139	131	184	200	256
German	176	199	197	208	253	288
Portuguese	1,335	1,813	2,253	2,351	3,186	3,600
Scandinavian	40	56	71	83	96	98
French	0	1	5	5	8	2
Japanese	54	39	60	113	261	397
Chinese	147	262	353	529	740	921
South Sea Island	16	42	36	35	29	28
Other foreign	19	24	16	34	52	88
Total	8,770	10,006	10,712	11,107	12,616	14,023

During the past year there has been a gain of 1,407, or 11 per cent. Hawaiians of full blood have increased 273, or 5 per cent.; part Hawaiians, 250, or 11 per cent. Portuguese have increased in number 414, or 13 per cent. Of the entire attendance, 56½ per cent. is Hawaiian or part Hawaiian, and 25 per cent. Portuguese. There is a significant increase in the number of Chinese and Japanese, although the proportion of these nationalities is still small. With such a variety of children of other tongues than that taught, it is not surprising to learn that high school studies are engaged in by but a small proportion of pupils. Mr. H. S. Townsend, Inspector-General of Schools, says in his report that in Honolulu only 4 per cent. of the children in the public schools are pursuing studies of this class, whereas in cities of similar size in America the average is about 10 per cent.

The figures given above show that, at the opening of the present year, between 12,000 and 13,000 children of Hawaiian and European nationalities—or the races entitled to the electoral franchise under certain property and educational restrictions—

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were being educated in the English language within these islands. This is more than 12 per cent. of the entire population (census of 1896) of 109,000, whereof 46,023 are Asiatics who are not eligible for the franchise. So large a school attendance of the enfranchised nationalities augurs well for the wholesome growth of an intelligent body politic. At the same time, there seems to be no small significance in the recent immense increase of Chinese and Japanese pupils. Any who deplore this exhibit must be of narrow mind. While it does not imply insensate race prejudice to regard with serious apprehension the continued large influx of Asiatics, yet, as it is certain that a large proportion of those now in the country will, like the poor, be always with us, it is against sound wisdom to deprecate anything that will raise the grade of their intelligence. The more near an Asiatic is brought to Western ways, the less dangerous a competitor will he be in labor or business. Civilization breeds wants, and wants make the cheap man dear. At any rate, the remarkably increasing thirst of Asiatics in Hawaii for an English education speaks volumes for the potency of Hawaiian civilizing influences. The fact that our educational system is broad enough to accommodate, and hospitable enough to welcome, all comers reflects some glory on this little country. Even the public schools of the United States, whose praise is in all ends of the earth, are not doing more effective work than the schools of Hawaii in refining out the pure gold of humanity from the crudest of raw materials.

The Hawaiian public school system is essentially American. It employs American text-books almost exclusively, which, of course, include for the higher grades the cream of English classics. The only exceptions are Hawaiian geography and history. More than one-third of the teachers in all schools, public and independent, are American. It is no slight testimony to the efficiency of the system that Hawaiian and part Hawaiian teachers come next in number to American, and form but a little under one-third of the entire teaching staff. This is a happy result of the policy of training teachers at home, as these are acquainted from the first with the peculiar difficulties of conducting a school of mixed races. For many years home-trained teachers had to do their best to earn certificates by working upon the furnished syllabus of periodical examinations, but within the past few years there has been established at Honolulu

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a normal school with a practice-school attached. From this institution a constant supply of scientifically trained teachers is assured, which, it is hoped, will soon overtake, or, at least, approach the demand. An admirable feature of the system is the virtually permanent tenure of the teacher's office. Teachers are employed during the year. Schools are in session, even in remote country districts, for forty weeks of the fifty-two. Once employed, teachers are privileged to remain in the service until they resign or are removed for cause. Removals are rare. Within a few years past a splendid *esprit de corps* has developed among the teachers. They have formed associations in the different islands for mutual improvement in the profession, and they hold a national summer school with the same purpose each year in Honolulu. Eminent educators from the United States are induced to become the principal lecturers before the summer schools. The Inspector-General, who is chief executive officer under the Board of School Commissioners, is in nothing more zealous than in stimulating the teachers to effort in this line of mutual improvement.

By an Act of the Legislature of 1896 the school system of Hawaii has been raised from the rank of a bureau to that of a department of the government. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is also Minister of Education and the President, *ex officio*, of a board of six commissioners, of whom three may be, and two are at present, ladies.

The Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii prohibits any aid from the public treasury to sectarian schools—another point of contact with the American school system. Formerly it was the regular practice of successive legislatures to pass grants of money to schools under the control of different religious denominations. Instead of becoming weaker from the withdrawal of public aid, the independent schools last year exhibited an increase of attendance proportionate to that of the public schools. There are several fine institutions, under both Protestant and Catholic auspices, firmly established in the islands. Oahu College, at Honolulu, a foundation of the American Mission, has now a handsome group of modern buildings. It has chairs established in the ancient and modern languages and natural philosophy, besides the usual academic branches. Students frequently graduate from it to enter universities in the United States for higher

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education or courses in their affiliated schools of the learned professions. St. Louis College, also at Honolulu, is conducted by Roman Catholic Brothers, giving instruction from primary to classical grades, with music and drawing as specialties. It is only open to boys, but it has more pupils than any other school in the islands. Iolani College, owned and directed by the Anglican Bishop of Honolulu, with an able staff of instructors, is a high-class academy doing substantial work. The Kamehameha School for boys and girls, founded by the will of the late Mrs. Charles R. Bishop, a royal princess of Hawaii, besides giving tuition from primary to high school grades, inclusive, affords the benefits of manual training in various branches of industry. There is also a normal school for the training of teachers attached to this noble foundation. Manual training, it may be said, is being introduced into the common public schools of the country wherever practicable. Honolulu has long had a reformatory school in which agricultural and mechanical industry has been taught to the wayward lads sent there for reclamation.

Hawaii has practically a free school system, the only exception being a group centering in the Honolulu High School. This is under authority of a section of the new school law, which provides "that the department may, in its discretion, establish, maintain, and discontinue select schools, taught in the English language, at a charge of such tuition fees for attendance as it may deem proper; provided, however, that such select schools shall be established only in places where free schools of the same grade for pupils within the compulsory age are readily accessible to the children of such district."

Out of the total appropriated expenditures of the Hawaiian government for all purposes, $1,939,978.50, for the two years ending December 31, 1897, the amount for the support of public schools is $404,000. As the independent schools are also sustained out of the pockets of the people, the aggregate contributions of the population to the cause of education are in nowise shabby. On the whole, Hawaii may be proud of her schools. They will not be the least valuable part of the estate that she will bring into the American Commonwealth.

DANIEL LOGAN.

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THE UNION LABEL.

BY M. E. J. KELLEY.

THE development of industry and the progress of economic thought have lately evolved in the union label an economic force which promises to grow constantly stronger as it becomes more widely known. It is sufficiently interesting, at any rate, to deserve more attention than it has hitherto received. Although the union label has been a valuable factor in strengthening three of the most powerful of the American trade-unions, and has exerted an incalculable influence in bringing about some changes that are of serious importance to society as a whole, it is within a year that it has begun to be noticed at all by the students of economics, or by anybody else outside the trade-unions. No mention of the label appears in any of the books on economics or sociology. Even Professor Ely, who has written exhaustively on the labor movement in America, apparently has never heard of the union label. The past year, however, has worked wonders for the spread of the label's particular light outside the ranks of the workers. Lectures on the subject have been delivered before the students of economics at Columbia, and one of the students has the label for his thesis. The National Labor Bureau has commissioned a special agent to investigate the union label. Consumers' Leagues, whose membership consists of wealthy buyers, have discussed it exhaustively. Evidently its day is near at hand.

To a great extent, no doubt, its neglect is due to the fact that American students of economics are forever studying the history of the English labor movement, with the conviction that the American organizations are bound to develop on identical lines, and that, given a similar situation, the step taken by the English unions twenty-five or thirty years ago is bound to be

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followed by the American organizations of the present. They quite overlook differences in the American character and situation. The union label had never been heard of in England until a couple of years ago, when two delegates from the American Federation of Labor expatiated on its advantages at the convention of British and Irish trade-unions.

The union label is a distinctively American product. It originated with the cigarmakers, who used it at first on the Pacific Coast in the later seventies as a means of protection against Chinese industry, which was flooding the California markets with cigars and threatening to drive the white cigarmakers to starvation wages in order to compete with it. The feeling against the Chinese was particularly strong just then, and an appeal was made to the smoking public on æsthetic and sanitary, as well as ethical, grounds. Men were urged not to purchase goods made by leprous Chinese under all sorts of unhealthful conditions, but instead to buy the products of well-paid white citizens employed at living wages in decent shops. To distinguish the cigars made by the white workmen from those made by the Chinese the local cigarmakers' union issued a label, a strip of blue paper bearing the union seal, which was pasted around the cigar box after the fashion of the revenue stamp. The label was welcomed by the manufacturer, because with the public state of mind on the Chinese question its use meant increased sales of his wares. On the whole, the device of the California cigarmakers was so successful that it was adopted by the International Cigarmakers' Union at its next convention, and its use has extended gradually until now "blue label" cigars are common all over the country. The Cigarmakers' Union issues on an average about 20,000,000 blue labels annually. These labels are given on demand to any manufacturer who complies with the rules of the union as to wages and hours of labor. Besides indicating that the goods were made by members of a trade-union receiving fair wages, the union label is usually considered a guarantee that the article on which it appears was made in a factory complying with the factory laws, and not in a sweatshop or tenement. Occasionally, however, less stress is laid on this point than is desirable from the consumer's point of view.

Labels have been adopted by more than twenty national trade-unions, and they represent all stages of development. All

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the labels indicate a struggle for improved conditions. Some of them represent partial attainment. In most cases particular abuses have called the label into being and it is chiefly valuable at present as an indication that a certain evil has been abolished in the cases where the label is in use.

The hatters were the first to follow the example of the cigar-makers by the adoption of a label to distinguish the hats made in "fair" shops from those made in "unfair" establishments. Twelve years ago, at a national convention, an inch square of buff paper, perforated around the edges like a postage stamp, was adopted as the hatters' union label. It is sewed under the sweatband of the hat. A majority of hat manufacturers employ union men and the label is in use wherever there is any demand for it. All grades of men's hats from the cheapest to the most expensive may be had with the label in them.

The National Garment Workers' Union has a cambric label an inch wide by two inches long, which is stitched into the pockets of men's and boys' suits and overcoats. About five millions of these labels are used each year. One-fifth of all the clothing made in the United States bears the union label. The demand for the label on ready-made clothing has been worked up within the past three or four years. The Garment Workers' Union was organized only six years ago with 250 members. Its membership in 1896 was estimated at 40,000.

Within the past five or six years labels have been adopted by the bakers, tack-makers, iron moulders, shoemakers, coopers, beer brewers, horseshoe nail makers, wagon-makers, broom makers, collar and cuff makers, canners of domestic sardines, and a number of other trades. If one rides in a carriage one may have a union label on the horse's collar, if one insists, and on one's coupe or brougham. If one is an enthusiast on the subject it is quite possible to help create a demand for union labels by refusing to wear shoes, hats, collars, cuffs or coats or trousers which do not carry on them the union workman's guarantee of fair making. Custom tailors and custom shoemakers have union labels, as well as those who make the ready-made articles. Housekeepers have it in their power to make or unmake the bakers, broom-makers, and a host of other trade-unions. They may if they choose serve their families with union labelled bread and crackers, union-labelled canned vegetables and

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fruit. The housewife may put down her carpet with union-labelled tacks, sweep it with union-labelled brooms, and set a union-labelled stove upon it. If one elects to do so one may patronize union-labelled shops. The retail salesmen have a button which they wear indicating membership in the Retail Clerk's Union. The Barbers' Union issues a card to master barbers who pay union wages and keep union hours. The card is hung in a conspicuous place in the shop or in the shop window.

The union label appears more frequently on goods used by working people than on those in demand among the well-to-do. The reason for this is simple. The demand for articles bearing the union label originated with members of trade-unions acting in their capacity as consumers, and so far very few outside the working class have taken any interest in the union label. In fact until recently it was practically unknown outside the trade-unions. Overalls are the great staple for labels. They come under the head of ready-made clothing, of course, and the Garment Workers' Union issues the label, but overall making is a distinct branch of the business. Indeed, the ready-made garment trade is exceedingly interesting as an example of the extreme to which the subdivision of labor has been carried. It is very rarely that a manufacturer makes more than one distinct kind of goods. No workman nowadays ever works on men's coats and trousers and children's jackets, for instance, as he might have done thirty years ago. These different garments are made in widely separated shops by different people. And no one person makes a whole garment. One cuts it, another runs the seams, another hems, another bastes, another makes pockets. A coat passes through at least twenty hands in the process of making. The Garment Workers' Union is an amalgamation of numerous branches, each composed of workers employed at some particular division of the work.

But to return to overalls, which, of course, are articles used exclusively by working men. It is hardly possible to buy a pair without the union label. The "scab" and the man who considers the union a great engine of oppression and injustice are likely to come in contact with evidence of its success every time he puts his hand in his overall pocket. The supply of overalls seems to come from half a dozen immense factories where thousands of women are employed. In this case the union label guarantees to

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the purchaser that the garments were made under conditions several hundred per cent. better than those which prevail in other branches of the ready-made garment trade.

There are few or no union labels on women's ready-made clothing or other articles used exclusively by women, or made only by them. There are two causes for this. Neither men nor women have yet come to a realization of the economic importance of women either in production or consumption. Women as producers are unorganized and they fail to appreciate their importance as purchasers for themselves and their families. Before there can be a union label there must first be a trade-union which shall adopt a label to be given to manufacturers who are willing to enter into an agreement with the union to provide what the workers and employers agree to be fair conditions. And before the union label can be of consequence in making or sustaining fair conditions there must be a purchasing public interested in creating a demand for it.

Six years ago the International Typographical Union adopted a device which may be printed on all work done in a union office. Most of the offices, in the larger cities at any rate, employ only members of the union, so that if there were a concerted demand for this evidence of harmony between employer and employed it could be obtained. Public sentiment has not been aroused on the subject as yet, however, and there is no such demand. Handbills and pamphlets printed for unions or social reform organizations usually bear the printer's label, and in many small cities daily and weekly newspapers have the device printed at the head of their editorial columns. The printers' label, however, seems to have greater possibilities as a political force than any other. Forty city councils scattered over the country have passed ordinances requiring the union label on all municipal printing. The Montana Legislature recently passed a law requiring the label on public printing done throughout the State. Boston's city printing is done by union printers, and the plant is under municipal control.

Other unions have succeeded, in a measure, in getting recognition for their labels from local governing bodies. The Common Council of Utica has passed an ordinance that no iron moulding shall be used in public buildings which does not bear the iron moulders' label.

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Such municipal ordinances are the result of concerted action on the part of local federations of unions in various trades. They demand, as citizen taxpayers and voters, that laws previously passed by State legislatures requiring payment of prevailing wages and the employment of adult-citizen labor on all public works shall be enforced in local contracts, and that as evidence that the law is not being evaded the union's trade-mark shall appear wherever it can be used.

It is interesting to observe the extent to which the law has taken cognizance of the union label. The first objection raised by the sympathetic outsider whose attention has been called to the union label as a means of improving the conditions under which workmen are employed is: "How shall we know a label is genuine? May not anybody put a label on his goods and say it stands for fair conditions?" Nearly every State in the Union where goods are made by organized workmen, or where such goods are sold, has passed special laws protecting union labels from counterfeits and imitations. In some States the labels are registered and protected under the laws regulating trade-marks. In 1895 twenty-five States had laws protecting union labels, and as the number of States having such laws is constantly increasing, it is likely many others have been added to the list since. The protection given by the label laws is very great. In many States the union may invoke both civil and criminal law to punish offenders. The employer unable to get the right to use the label from the union, and yielding to the temptation to use a counterfeit or imitation, is liable to a year's imprisonment or a fine of $200, or both. This is the maximum punishment. It is less in some States, and in practice the limit will probably never be imposed on an offender. The goods bearing the counterfeit label may be seized and destroyed. The union also has grounds for a civil suit for damages. Mr. C. F. Willard, a lawyer employed by several unions to look after the registration of labels, says that the most important feature of the laws relating to union labels has not yet been recognized, either by the unions or the manufacturers. "In granting protection to union labels of associations of workmen," says Mr. Willard, "the different States have recognized their right of property in such labels and in so doing have legalized the status of such associations or combinations. They recog-

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nize the right of workingmen to combine into associations, which means virtually the abolition of the old conspiracy laws in those States which have passed laws to protect union labels. The label laws mean that the law recognizes the right of property on the part of the labor organizations in their label or trade-mark, and thus the right to hold property. They also mean that the wage-worker has been conceded the right to own and register a mark to be used on goods, which in a legal sense he does not own, but into which the labor of himself and of his fellows combined in unions enters as a predominating factor. These laws, by inference, thus establish the equity right of labor in the product owned by the employer."

The trade-union never urges the label upon an employer, and no employer ever applies to the union for the use of its label until he is confronted with a demand for it from a sufficient number of his customers to make it worth his while to have it placed on the goods he has for sale.

It must not be supposed, however, that the union sits still and waits for the employer to get ready to come around to the union office for the label. On the contrary, it is "perniciously active" in its efforts to influence him in an indirect way to adopt the label. The label is extensively advertised in the newspapers and labor organs. Pictures of the various labels and appeals to consumers to ask for goods bearing them are widely circulated among union men of all crafts and among their friends and sympathizers. Committees from local unions visit the shops of their towns and set forth to dealers the advantages of keeping union-labelled goods in stock, since the several hundred or thousand members whom they represent are pledged to give the preference in purchasing to such goods, and to dealers keeping them on hand. In small towns the patronage of the union men and their friends makes a material difference to the shopkeeper, and frequently, through him, to the manufacturer who supplies him with goods. In one of the smaller cities of New York State a baker's business experienced a boom as a result of the label agitation. At first he was the only boss baker who was willing to enter into a satisfactory agreement with the bakers' union and consequently was the only one who could get the bakers' label. The wives and mothers of the union men of the town were interested and took pains to buy none but bread bearing the union label, with the result that this

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particular baker needed more help and the other bakers lost their trade. In many towns, particularly up in New York State and through the middle West, the wives of union men have been interested in the garment workers' grievances, and when they buy clothing for their little sons they insist upon having the label in the pockets of jackets and knickerbockers. The demand for childrens' clothing bearing the union label has been worked up to such an extent, through these smaller towns, that three large manufacturers in New York have within a year secured the label. Not long ago a manufacturing house up the Hudson went out of business, and one of the causes to which its failure was attributed was its refusal to make terms with the union, together with the persistent demand of its customers, the retailers, for union labelled goods, which their customers in turn insisted on having.

The demand for the union label is hardly sufficiently developed as yet to make it possible to estimate or predict its effect upon production. A universal demand for it, of course, would take away any advantage which its use at present gives to dealers or manufacturers. Not to have it would be a disadvantage, but having it would not add to one's customers.

The sum which it adds to the manufacturers' cost of production on any one article is infinitesimal. The cost of registering the labels in the various States, which amounts to about $500, is borne entirely by the union owning the label. The cost of printing and making the labels is divided between the manufacturers and the union. The proportion varies with different unions. In the clothing trade the manufacturers pay two-thirds of the cost of the labels, or about $200 a million. This means the addition of one five-thousandth of a cent to the cost of each garment. The cost and trouble to which the manufacturer is put to obtain the label is more than made up by the free advertising he gets through the union and the labor press, not to mention the additional customers who are secured by the use of the label.

The effect of the use of the label upon consumption will be to bring an ethical element into economic transactions, a result much to be desired according to the best economists. It is in the change which has come over economic thought in the last quarter of the century that the union label finds its justification. The stress is no longer on production or exchange but

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upon consumption. The consumer, it is seen, is the real maker of goods. Whether goods shall be made under sweat-shop conditions, under conditions which mean the brutalization of the great mass of humanity, or under conditions which permit the development of all that is best in the workers, and which are the best conditions for the interests of society as a whole, depends upon the consumers and not upon the producers. When the ethical sense of the community is so highly developed that no one will wear a garment for which just wages have not been paid, the sweatshop will disappear.

In the present stage of development, the union label seems to to fill a want, to meet a desire for some guarantee that the articles are what they are represented to be—made under fair conditions. The union label is probably only a temporary device, just as any present thing is adapted to present conditions, present circumstances, present evils. When conditions and circumstances change, it will give way to something else. It is not an ideal solution of labor problems. If it does not stand for all its newest friends think it should, it must be remembered that it is not fully matured. Like the trade-union, of which it is an outgrowth, it must be of slow development. It can grow no faster than those who use it. In its early days the trade-union was something quite unlike the present orderly, dignified, influential body, which is a powerful economic, social, and political force.

At first the union was little more than a temporarily organized mob, making, sometimes, unreasonable demands; thinking strikes and physical violence the only means of gaining its ends. With more leisure and better wages, gained in part by these destructive methods, the organized workers have come gradually to stand for peaceful measures and various reforms beneficial, not only to themselves, but to the body of which they are a part. In similar fashion the union label is developing. At first it meant simply that the makers of the articles bearing it were white men, not Chinese. A little later it said to the buyer: "These goods are made by a member of the union of the trade." The union man might be working in a two-room home, assisted by his family; that did not matter. Presently the union reached the stage where it became an ardent advocate of factory laws and waged war on child labor. Then the label began to mean that the article bearing it was made by a union man employed in a factory

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governed by factory laws, receiving union wages and working eight hours or ten hours a day. It meant that the article was not made in a sweatshop or tenement house and that child labor was not employed in its making. In its very latest development the union label stands also for good workmanship. It signifies that the worker has reached the stage of growth where he takes sufficient pride in his work to put his best efforts into it. However desirable this qualification may be from a consumer's point of view, there are grave difficulties in the way of its fullest development under the present organization of industry. Labor is only a partner. The laborer has not full say in the matter of what he shall put into the goods he makes. It is desirable, from the consumer's point of view, that things shall be cheap. Possibly the only way to secure cheapness may be to put less work or inferior material into an article. Good workmanship requires much more time than poor workmanship. From the manufacturers' point of view, which is influenced always by the consumer's desires, it may be better to turn out a great deal of work not done in the best manner than to make a few beautifully finished articles. Exquisite finish takes more time, costs more and must be sold for more. Fewer people can afford to buy it, no matter how much they may admire it. The demand is reduced. Fewer articles are required. Probably fewer workmen will be needed to make the limited supply. It is doubtful whether it is a wise thing for the consumer friends of the union label to insist too strongly as yet that it shall stand for good workmanship. The old saw, "What is worth doing at all is worth doing well," is just as true as it ever was; but until the public taste has been educated through technical and art training, or in some other way, so that it will have nothing but what is in good taste and well done, and until our ethical standards have been raised to a point where getting more than one pays for will not be considered an evidence of good judgment and good business ability, it will be wiser not to insist too strongly on excellence of workmanship. For the consumer to say to the trade-unionist, "When you can assure us that the label stands for conscientious workmanship, just relations between workmen and employer, good sanitary conditions, enforced factory laws, etc., we will give you our hearty support," is like saying to the slave, "We see you are un-

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justly treated; we know you are weak and oppressed; when you have broken your bonds and become strong we will help you to stay free, but we will not help you secure your freedom."

The consumer, of course, represents society as a whole. The producer who is to be helped by the union label represents only a part of society. And apparently it is only a very small fraction of the producers who will be benefited by the union label. The proportion of union men to non-unionists is about one to nine in England, and the proportion outside the union is much greater in the United States. The "scab," of course, is a consumer, and must be considered in any scheme which is to benefit society as a whole. The use of the union label will probably have much the same effect upon those outside the union that the trade-union itself has had upon the workers who have remained outside its organization. Invariably the non-unionist has shared in the improved conditions brought about by the efforts of the trade-unions. Factory laws, anti-truck laws, weekly payment laws, and much other legislation which protects all workingmen have been the result of trade-union activity. Public opinion has been largely the means of enforcing shorter hours in many occupations, half-holidays in the dry-goods shops, for instance, but the agitation was started by trade-unionists, and those outside labor organizations have shared in the benefits.

On the whole, it cannot be said that the union label is an ideal solution of vexing labor problems, or that it is likely to be final or permanent. It does, however, offer a means of utilizing the altruistic sense of a community to right some of the wrongs from which the producer suffers. It offers itself as an infinitely superior substitute for the strike and the boycott. It brings employer and workman together on a footing of common interest. The employer finds it is to his interest to see that the conditions under which his workmen are employed are fair. Closer relations are sure to bring about improved methods of settling differences. The label builds up the fair employer's trade instead of tearing down the unfair man's business, as did the boycott. The union label is constructive, not destructive. In this fact is its most vital principle, and a promise of extensive and progressive development.

M. E. J. KELLEY.

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ARE AMERICAN PARENTS SELFISH?

BY ELIZABETH BISLAND.

It is admitted by every unprejudiced person—excepting, of course, the ignorant and benighted foreigner—that the Americans are the people, and that wisdom and virtue will necessarily die with them; that all their customs and institutions, whether social or political, are the wonder, the envy, and despair of other nations—which makes a question like the above seem almost frivolous.

"Selfish!" reply the astonished and disgusted heads of families, "selfish—indeed!—on the contrary, the American is blamed as the most indulgent of parents. Surely selfishness is the last charge that can justly be made." And if indulgence invariably implied unselfishness the American would certainly have nothing with which to reproach himself in his relations with his children.

There can be no doubt that a fond gentleness of rule is in this country the law of the average household. So far as is compatible with common sense, the children have entire liberty of action, and, so far as the means of the parents permit, the children are provided with every advantage and pleasure. Indeed, to such lengths at one time did fondness go that it too often degenerated into a laxness that made the American child a lesson and a warning to other nations. Daisy Miller and her little, odious, toothless brother were supposed to typify the results of this fatuous feebleness of rule in our family life, but neither Daisy nor her brother can now be held to be typical pictures, though their prototypes still exist here and there. The American parent of to-day rules more firmly and with greater wisdom. Such figures as those of the unhappy girl and the odious boy brought home to us the truth—forgotten in our passion for universal liberty—that a relaxation of wise, strong government by

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the parent was cruelty of the most far-reaching and irreparable sort.

No doubt Henry James' mordant satire helped to inaugurate a salutary reform, and it is just possible that a new work of a similar nature is now needed to suggest further serious reflections to American parents; to rouse them to consider whether their whole duty is performed in seeing their children well fed, well educated, and raised to man's estate. With most parents the sense of responsibility ceases when the boy begins to earn his own living, when the girl dons orange blossoms. Like the birds the American parent works hard to feed the nestlings, carefully teaches them to fly, and then tumbles them out into the world to find for themselves. So far in our history this elemental method has worked well, no doubt. The result of it has been to breed the most precocious, self-reliant, vigorous, irreverent race the earth has yet seen. One may see the whole situation epitomized in the orchard any pleasant June day—an astonished fledgling ruffling his feathers upon some retired bough, ruminating upon the sudden shocks and changes of existence, and afraid almost to turn his head in the large, new, lonesome world surrounding him. As the hours pass his melancholy reflections are pierced by hunger's pangs. Heretofore, a busy parent has always appeared to assuage such poignant sensations, but now that hard-worked person may be seen—genially oblivious of obligations—refreshing himself with cherries, and the fledgling, with a squawk of wounded amazement, discovers for the first time that even parents are not to be depended upon. His hunger meantime grows. An opportune insect flits by and is snapped at involuntarily. It proves to be of refreshing and sustaining quality, and digestion brings courage. A hop and a flutter show the usefulness of wing and limb. More luck with insects demonstrates that the world belongs to the bold, and before the day is done the cocky young nestling of yesterday is shouldering his papa away from the ripest cherries.

All this is very well in a world where flies and cherries are free to all, but America is fast ceasing to be a happy uncrowded orchard in which the young find more than enough room and food for the taking.

In the past, the boy—inured to plain living and a certain amount of labor from childhood—had only to take the girl of

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his choice by the hand and go make a home out of virgin soil, wheresoever chance or fancy led, himself and his parents both confident he could not suffer in a land where only industry was needed to ensure conquest. These boundless possibilities relieved the parent of half the cares incident to the relation, and that sense of freedom from responsibility has remained, while conditions have altered. The bird-like fashion of refusing further liability once the child has made its first flight is still the rule.

To the European parent this seems a most flagrant abandonment of duty. There the anxious care for the offspring reaches out to the third and fourth generation, and every safeguard which law or custom can devise is thrown around the child. From the moment of its birth the parent of Continental Europe begins to save, not only for the education and upbringing, but for the whole future existence, of the child. It is not alone the daughter who is dowered, but the son also has provision made for his married life, when, as his parents keenly realize, the greatest strain will be made upon his resources and capabilities.

In America it is the custom—very nearly the universal custom—for the parents to spend upon the luxuries and pleasures of the family life the whole income. The children are educated according to this standard of expenditure, and are accustomed to all its privileges. No thought is taken of the time when they must set up households for themselves—almost invariably upon a very different scale from the one to which they have been used. To the American parent this seems only a natural downfall. They remark cheerfully that they themselves began in a small way, and it will do the young people no harm to acquire a similar experience—forgetting that in most cases their children have been educated to a much higher standard of ease than that of their own early life. They do not consider it obligatory to leave anything to their children at death. They have used all they could accumulate during their own lifetime—let their children do the same. The results of the system are crystallized in the American saying: "There are but three generations from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves." The man who acquires wealth spends what he makes. His children, brought up in luxury, struggle unsuccessfully against conditions to which they are unused, and the grandchildren begin in their shirt sleeves to toil for the wealth dissipated by the two preceding generations.

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Europeans frequently and curiously remark upon the American's prodigality of ready money. The small change which they part with so reluctantly the American flings about with a fine mediæval profusion. The manner of life of the average well-to-do person in this country permits of it. The average man who earns ten or twenty thousand a year invests none of it. He installs his family in a rented house in the city in winter. Several servants are kept; the children are sent to expensive schools. All the family dress well, eat rich food, and indulge in costly amusements. In summer they either travel abroad, live in a hotel at a watering place, or rent again. The man's whole income is at his disposal to spend every year. None of it is deducted to be safely stored in property. When his daughters marry he expects their husbands to be solely responsible for their future, and if they do not succeed in marrying wealth, why so much the worse for them. When his sons begin their career he looks to them to be self-supporting almost from the first, and not to undertake the responsibilities of a family until they are able to bear such a burden without aid from him. He cannot assist them without materially altering his own scale of living, which he is naturally loath to do. At his death the income generally ceases in large part, and his widow, and such children as may still be unplaced in life, are obliged to relinquish the rented houses and the way of life to which they have been used.

To a Frenchman such an existence would seem as uncertain and disturbing as is generally supposed to be that of a person who has built upon the crust of a volcano. He could not contemplate with equanimity the thought of chaos overtaking the ordered existence of his family upon his demise. *Apres nous le deluge* seems to him the insouciance of a maniac, or of a monster of selfishness. Daily expenditure is regulated within a limit which permits of a constant investment of a margin. When his daughter marries he insures in her carefully guarded dower that she shall continue her existence on somewhat the same scale to which she has been accustomed, and, in case of premature widowhood or accident of fortune, she and her children shall not be called upon to face the desperate strait of absolute pennilessness. He may deny her in her girlhood many of the indulgences common to her American prototype, but he denies himself at the same time in saving to insure the security and comfort of her

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future. The French father would think it terrible that a tenderly nurtured daughter should be suddenly thrust into abject dependence upon a husband who may possibly abuse the power given him by that circumstance, nor would he be more satisfied to think that she should during her first years of married life, while still young and encountering the strain of motherhood, be called upon to face narrow means and a perilously uncertain financial condition.

When the son arrives at maturity the economies to which he, in company with his parents, has submitted, bear fruit in substantial aid in beginning his career, and he is not obliged to put out of his mind all thought of marriage during his youth, since his parents, and those of the woman of his choice, have provided for this very contingency through all the years of his minority.

The French—with the logical inevitableness of their mode of thought—carry this view of life to its extreme limit, but throughout all Europe, including England, the responsibility of the parent is more broadly conceived than in this country, where the excuse for an infinity of cheap flimsiness is the cynical phrase, "It will last my time." Men build cheaply, and forbear to undertake work of which they cannot see the immediate result, because there is no sense of obligation to the coming generation. The democratic theory is that each man must fight for his own hand; no debt is owed to either ancestry or posterity. The mind is not shocked by sudden destruction of families, by the sharp descent in the social scale, or the flying of women into the arena of the struggle for life. The parent is quite willing to share with the child the goods of existence as far as he can achieve them, but he is unwilling to deny either child or himself that the child may benefit alone, or after he is gone.

Conditions in America are constantly assimilating themselves more and more to those existing in the older countries, where the conflict for existence is close and intense, and where the prudent, the careful, and the far-sighted inevitably crowd out the weaker and more careless individuals and families. An almost unmistakable sign of "an old family" in America is conservatism in expenditure and modes of life. The newly rich, who set the pace of public luxury, are always amazed at the probates of the wills of these quiet citizens. They cannot believe that one who spent so little should have so much, not realizing

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that the simplicity of life made it possible to solidly invest a surplus. The heirs of this solid wealth have been bred to prudence and self-denial. Such a family survives, while in all probability the offspring of the other type may in two generations be hopelessly trodden into the mire.

There is in the breasts of many parents a half-resentful feeling that they should not be asked to sacrifice themselves to the new generation. They insist upon their own right to all that is to be got out of life, feeling that what they give to the children is never repaid. This selfish type forgets that in doing their duty they are but returning to their children what they themselves received from the past generation, and that the children will in turn pay to their descendants the inherited debt of honor with interest.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

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PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

III.—THE SOUTHERN STATES.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THESE are thirteen in number and include some of the earliest English settlements in North America. They cover an area of 816,000 square miles, or more than one-fourth of the Union, their population averaging 25 to the square mile, as compared with 140 in the Middle States.

	1850.	1890.	1897, est.
Virginia*	1,420,000	2,419,000	2,570,000
North Carolina	870,000	1,618,000	1,750,000
South Carolina	670,000	1,151,000	1,240,000
Georgia	905,000	1,837,000	2,040,000
Florida	90,000	391,000	510,000
Alabama	770,000	1,513,000	1,670,000
Mississippi	605,000	1,290,000	1,380,000
Louisiana	520,000	1,119,000	1,230,000
Texas	215,000	2,236,000	2,780,000
Arkansas	210,000	1,190,000	1,540,000
Kentucky	960,000	1,859,000	1,970,000
Tennessee	1,005,000	1,768,000	1,890,000
Southern States	8,240,000	18,391,000	20,570,000

The increase of population since 1850 has been 150 per cent., the same ratio as in the Middle States, while that of the Union has exceeded 200 per cent. In the census of 1890 the Southern States had a male surplus of 2 per cent., whereas in the Middle States the sexes were equal, and New England had a female surplus of 3 per cent. over males. No less than 85 per cent. of the colored population of the Union is found in the Southern States, but even here the negro element is losing ground, as we see on comparing the census returns of 1890 with those of 1870, viz.:

	1870.	1890.	Increase, per cent.
American, white	6,782,000	11,564,000	70.0
" colored	4,179,000	6,423,000	53.6
Foreigners	290,000	404,000	39.3
Southern States	11,251,000	18,391,000	64.2

* Including West Virginia.

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In 1870 the colored element formed 37 per cent. of the population; in 1890 only 35 per cent. It is evident that there has been neither any emigration of negroes from these States since 1870, nor any influx of them from other parts of the Union, seeing that the increase of colored people in the interval showed the same ratio in these States as in the Union at large, namely, 53 per cent. Dr. Billings, in his luminous report on the Vital Statistics of the United States (1886), shows that 1,000 colored women (age from 15 to 49) give birth to 164 children, and 1,000 white women to only 127, yearly; that is to say, three colored women have as many children as four white, but such is infant mortality among negroes that their rate of increase is 16 per cent. less. The Southern States are remarkable for the small number of cities and towns, although urban population has more than doubled since 1870, viz.:

	Urban.		Rural.	
	1870.	1890	1870.	1890.
Louisiana	191,000	264,000	536,000	855,000
Kentucky	155,000	255,000	1,166,000	1,601,000
Virginia	133,000	257,000	1,534,000	2,162,000
Texas	26,000	217,000	793,000	2,019,000
Other States	271,000	697,000	6,446,000	10,061,000
Southern States	776,000	1,693,000	10,475,000	16,698,000

Thus urban population rose 118, rural only 59 per cent., but the latter still forms nine-tenths of the total, agriculture being the chief occupation of the people. The climate is apparently little suited to Europeans, if we are to judge from the fact that foreigners compose only two per cent. of the population: they are found mostly in Texas and Florida.

Agriculture.—The improved area has more than doubled since 1850, viz.:

	Acres.		Acres per inhabitant.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
Texas	640,000	20,750,000	3.0	9.3
Virginia	10,360,000	13,680,000	7.4	5.7
Kentucky	5,970,000	11,820,000	6.2	6.4
Georgia	6,380,000	9,580,000	7.1	5.2
Tennessee	5,180,000	9,360,000	5.2	5.3
Other States	20,120,000	38,600,000	5 3	4.7
Southern States	48,650,000	103,790,000	5.9	5.6

Here we have a farming area of 5½ acres per inhabitant, against 2½ in the Middle States, and yet the South does not raise enough grain for its requirements, the production of food per inhabitant having greatly declined in the last forty years, viz.:

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	Tons produced.		Pounds per inhabitant.	
	Grain.	Meat.	Grain.	Meat.
1850	9,070,000	1,210,000	2,460	330
1895	15,800,000	1,630 000	1,820	190

There are only two of the Southern States that raise enough grain for home consumption—Kentucky and Tennessee, in which the production exceeds one ton per inhabitant; the others subsist four months of the year on grain from the Prairie States. There is, meantime, a large meat surplus, at least 500,000 tons, part of which goes to feed the Middle States, the rest being exported. Texas alone produces 560,000 tons, and has no rival in the United States, being 110,000 tons ahead of Iowa, which holds second place. As regards dairy products the South has neither surplus nor deficit, the number of milch cows being just sufficient for a population of 20 millions. There is, however, a deficiency in poultry, the production of eggs allowing only 114 to each inhabitant, the average consumption in the United States (1890) being 160 per head. The Southern States produce some crops peculiar to themselves, such as cotton, rice, and sugar, besides which they raise three-fourths of the tobacco of the Union; there has been a notable increase in cotton and tobacco, but not in the other two items, viz.:

	1850.	1894.
Cotton, bales	2,470,000	9,480,000
Tobacco, tons	65,000	130,000
Sugar, "	130,000	130,000
Rice, "	95,000	60,000

The cotton crop (of which one-third is grown in Texas) covers an area of 24,000,000 acres, which is equal to the aggregate extent of three European kingdoms—Holland, Belgium, and Denmark. One-half of the tobacco crop of the United States is grown in Kentucky. The value of crops and pastoral products in the Southern States is 26 per cent. of that of the Union, the average for the years 1893–94–95 showing approximately as follows:

	Tons.	Millions dollars.
Grain	14,500,000	270
Cotton	1,760,000	245
Meat	1,630,000	185
Tallow and lard	300,000	27
Hay	4,500,000	48
Potatoes	420,000	10
Dairy products	.....	93
Sundries	.....	127
Total		1,005

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The above gross product gives an average of $10 an acre, against $14 in the Middle States. Whether the result of negro emancipation or other cause, the average size of farms is steadily declining, having fallen from 100 acres in 1850 to 68 in 1870, and 58 in 1890. Texas has the largest, with an average of 90 acres; Florida the smallest, only 33 acres. The following table shows the agricultural wealth of the South in 1850 and 1890, as well as the average price of land per acre:

	Farms, millions dollars.		Land, dollars per acre.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
Virginia	257	473	21	30
Kentucky	190	428	26	29
Tennessee	133	313	19	26
Texas	29	517	25	19
Other States	623	1,197	17	20
The South	1,232	2,928	20	23

In 1890 the average capital represented by each Southern farm was $1,630, or one-third of that of a farm in the Middle States, but if we compare product with capital we find that farming is more profitable in the South, viz.:

	Average per farm, dollars.		Ratio of product.
	Capital.	Product.	Per cent.
The South	1,630	558	34
Middle States	5,060	980	19

The value of Southern farm products divided among the population gives an average of $50 per head, against $34 in the Middle States, and $56 for the Union at large.

Forestry.—The Southern States include nearly half the forest area of the Union, being so rich in timber that they have 12 acres of forest to each inhabitant, viz.:

	Acres.		Ratio of forest.	Acres forest per inhabitant.
	Total area.	Forest.		
Texas	175,600,000	38,700,000	22 p. c.	17
Arkansas	33,400,000	20,400,000	61 "	17
Florida	37,900,000	20,300,000	53 "	52
Other States	264,100,000	132,900,000	50 "	9
The South	511,000,000	212,300,000	42 "	12

According to the Agricultural Report of 1894 the South produces one-fifth of the lumber of the Union, that is about 900 million cubic feet per annum, valued at 47 million dollars; but

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if we include the timber used for firewood, fences, etc., the total cutting is supposed to reach 100 million tons, worth 200 million dollars, which is less than a dollar an acre, whereas the forests of the whole Union produce an average of $2.20 per acre.

Manufactures.—The census returns of 1890 compare with those of 1850 thus—

	No. of Operatives.	Millions dollars.		Per operative.	
		Wages.	Product.	Wages.	Product.
1850	104,000	23	103	$221	$990
1890	459,000	168	706	366	1,535

The average product per operative has risen 54 per cent., wages 66 per cent., showing that the working classes are in every respect gainers by the advance in this branch of industry. Manufactures are, nevertheless, in their infancy, the output being equal to no more than $39 per inhabitant, against $253 in the Middle States. Kentucky is, meantime, considerably ahead of the other Southern States, showing a ratio of $68 per head. The inferiority of the South as regards manufactures is probably due to two causes; first, the lower level of instruction, owing to one-third of the population being colored; secondly, the fact that the average wealth per inhabitant is much less than in other parts of the Union, and hence the ability to consume manufactures less.

Mining.—Before the Californian epoch it was customary to regard North Carolina as an auriferous State, its total yield in 50 years (down to 1850) amounting to 21 tons of pure gold, worth 15 million dollars, according to Professor Whitney. In subsequent years the yield has been insignificant, the Southern States collectively, in 1890, producing only 15,000 ounces of gold and 340,000 ounces of silver. Coal and iron are now the chief minerals, the last census showing as follows—

	Tons.		Value of all minerals, dollars.
	Coal.	Iron-ore.	
Virginia	7,100,000	510,000	13,000,000
Alabama	3,600,000	1,570,000	9,800,000
Tennessee	1,900,000	470,000	6,500,000
Other States	3,900,000	350,000	14,400,000
The South	16,500,000	2,900,000	43,700,000

The mineral output represents a value of only two dollars per

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inhabitant; the average for the whole Union being nine dollars per head.

Commerce.—The Southern States possess no fewer than five of the eleven seaports of the Union which have commercial relations of any note with foreign countries, but they are of minor rank, the total clearances not quite reaching two million tons yearly, so that their aggregate trade is little more than that of Boston. The Southern ports are New Orleans, Savannah, Galveston, Mobile, and Charleston, whose official returns show thus:

	Tonnage cleared.	
	1854.	1894
New Orleans	605 000	1,050,000
Other ports	325,000	890,000
Southern ports	930,000	1,940,000

The trade of the South with foreign countries has only doubled in 40 years, while that of the Middle States has quadrupled.

Railways.—In 1896 these States possessed 42,800 miles of railway, which represented a cost of 1,925 millions, say $45,000 per mile, or one-fourth less than the average cost of American lines. Although construction has been so cheap, the mileage is totally insufficient for the proper development of the South, being only 53 miles of railway to 1,000 square miles of area, whereas the ratio in the Prairie States is 108 miles. Thus it may be said that the South stands in need of double the length of existing lines.

Banking.—So little is banking used in the South that the discounts in 1895 did not exceed 233 million dollars, or $12 per inhabitant, the average for the Union being $40. The most business is done in Texas and Kentucky, viz.:

	Discounts, dollars.	Dollars per inhabitant.
Texas	64,300,000	26
Kentucky	40,000,000	21
Other States	128,700,000	8
The South	233,000,000	12

As for savings banks, the deposits hardly reach 50 cents per inhabitant, as against $52 in the Middle States.

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Wealth.—In 1890 the components of wealth were :

	Millions dollars.					Dollars per inhabitant.
	Farms.	Houses.	Railways	Sundries.	Total.	
Texas	517	820	447	322	2,106	942
Virginias....	473	314	236	278	1,301	538
Kentucky....	428	366	142	236	1,172	630
Carolinas....	337	173	266	209	985	355
Tennessee....	313	241	153	181	888	502
Georgia.....	189	263	227	173	852	464
Arkansas....	270*	141	106	145	662	555
Alabama. ..	146	160	175	142	623	411
Louisiana...	110	187	92	107	496	440
Mississippi..	167	81	120	86	454	352
Florida.....	81	123	127	58	389	995
The South..	3,031	2,869	2,091	1,937	9,928	540

Average wealth per inhabitant is much higher in Texas and Florida than in the other Southern States, which coincides with the fact that they are the only States of the South where the foreign population is considerable, showing what influence European settlers have in the increase of wealth. The other 11 States in 1890 possessed 7,433 million dollars, with an aggregate population of 15,800,000 souls, equal to $470 per head, or half the average that corresponded to the inhabitants of Texas and Florida. It may be observed that the value of house property is relatively small, only $150 per inhabitant as compared with $660 in the Middle States, which is partly explained by the small number of cities and of urban population, already adverted to. The increase of wealth per inhabitant in 40 years has been very great in Texas and Florida, but not so in the other States as shown in the census returns, viz.:

	Millions dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.		Annual increase, dollars per head.
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1850.	
Texas.....	53	2,106	246	942	47.80
Virginia.....	431	1,301	303	538	11.70
Kentucky.....	302	1,172	308	630	15.50
Tennessee.....	201	888	201	502	12.70
Arkansas.....	40	662	190	555	23 70
Florida.....	23	389	255	995	41.60
Other six States.. . . .	1,541	3,410	350	405	7.60
The South	2,591	9,928	314	540	14.50

If Texas and Florida were excluded the average accumulation in the rest of the Southern States would be found not to have exceeded $10.80 per inhabitant yearly, while the average for the

* Including Indian Territory and Oklahoma.

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whole Union was $35.30. The proportions of real and personal property in 1890 showed as follows:

	Dollars per inhabitant.			Real percentage.
	Real.	Personal.	Total.	
Texas	545	397	942	58
Virginia	298	240	538	55
Kentucky	383	247	630	61
Florida	501	494	995	51
Other States	215	216	431	50
The South	289	251	540	53

Real property constitutes only 53 per cent. of wealth, whereas in the Union at large it stands for 60 per cent. Insurance is not much in use, the amount of insured property being no more than 442 millions, or $23 per inhabitant, against $685 in New England. The sum of Southern insurance is only 4½ per cent. of wealth, whereas in the whole Union the ratio is 30 per cent.

Mortgages are very light, the total not exceeding 408 million dollars, or 8 per cent. of the value of real estate, viz.:

	Millions dollars.		
	Real estate.	Mortgage.	Ratio.
Texas	1,220	94	7.7
Virginias	720	49	6.8
Kentucky	712	46	6.4
Other States	2,673	219	8.2
The South	5,325	408	7.7

Farms are mortgaged to 11 per cent., houses 5 per cent. of their value. The sum paid yearly for interest is 32 millions, or $1.80 per inhabitant, as compared with $6.20 in New England. The fewness of mortgages in the South is partly accounted for by the high rate of interest, which averages 8 per cent., whereas the general rate for the whole Union in 1890 was only 6½ per cent. Meantime the rate varies greatly in the South, from 6 per cent. in Tennessee and Virginia to almost 10 per cent. in Texas and Florida.

Finances.—The aggregate of State and local taxes in 1890 was $58,000,000, equal to $3.10 per inhabitant, against $9.70 in the Middle States. The returns in 1890 showed as follows:

	Taxes, dollars.	Dollars per inhabitant.
Texas	9,820,000	4.10
Virginia	8,480,000	3 50
Kentucky	7,380,000	4.00
Other States	32,120,000	2.60
The South	57,800,000	3.10

Local taxes are comparatively low, because the population is

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nine-tenths rural, and also because education is so neglected that the expenditure on schools (84 cents per inhabitant) is only one-third of what it ought to be.

Education.—There is a painful contrast between the state of public instruction in the South and in the rest of the Union, one-third of the Southern population being illiterate, according to the census of 1890, viz.:

	Pop. over 10 Years.	Illiterate.	Per cent.
Whites	8,579,000	1,358,000	15.8
Colored	4,516,000	2,775,000	61.5
The South	13,095,000	4,133,000	31.6

The above shows not merely that the education of negroes is neglected, but also that among whites the ratio of illiteracy is ten times as high as among the native population of New England. Nevertheless, some progress has been made since the War of Emancipation, for we find that the number of children attending school (1895) has risen to 14 per cent. of the population, as compared with 10 per cent. in 1860.

The condition of the Southern States is unsatisfactory, not merely because in education, industry, and wealth they are much behind the rest of the Union, but because, owing to want of facilities, their resources are not properly developed. It is true that one-third of the population is colored, but even allowing for this fact, there is no reason why the South is not altogether on a par with one of its own States, Texas, which has 22 per cent. of its population colored. With regard to the number of its inhabitants, Texas has 45 per cent. more railways, 110 per cent. more banks than the other States of the South, and each of its hands employed in farming produces nearly three times as much, viz.:

	Farming hands.	Product dollars.	Dollars per hand.
Texas	430,000	250,000,000	580
Other States	3,420,000	755,000,000	220
The South	3,850,000	1,005,000,000	261

More schools, more railways, more banks, are needed in the Southern States, and if persevering efforts are made in this direction the results will certainly prove successful.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

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THE HOUSING OF THE ENGLISH POOR.

BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD MONKSWELL.

WHEN Lord Shaftesbury had routed a strange coalition of out and out Radicals and high Tories, and persuaded the Legislature to make life tolerable in factories, he devoted himself heart and soul to another enterprise no less beneficent, and determined to impress upon Parliament the urgent necessity of so ordering the home life of the poor that for decent people the maintenance of common decency should be possible.

Accordingly on the seventh of April, 1851, while still in the House of Commons, under the title of Lord Ashley, he introduced a bill to promote the erection of lodging-houses for the poor which is known by his name. In recommending this measure to the House he drew a picture of the state of affairs he sought to remedy which fairly startled his hearers, and aroused the country.

He stated that in St. George's, Hanover Square, the richest parish in London, a return made in 1842 showed that there were 929 families occupying only one room each, and that in the poorer parts of London he had himself seen five families in one room numbering 25 persons or even more. He quoted a report of the London Fever Hospital in 1845, in which it was said that 100 men sometimes slept in a room 33¾ feet long by 20 broad, and 7 feet high in the middle, the total air space for the whole hundred being no greater than was considered necessary for three in the hospital.

Again he quoted from the report of a city missionary as follows: "On my district is a house containing 8 rooms which are all let separately to individuals who furnish and re-let them. The parlor measures 18 by 10 feet. Beds are arranged on each side of the room, composed of straw, shavings, rags, etc. In this

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one room slept, on the night previous to my enquiry, 27 male and female adults, 31 children, and 2 or 3 dogs." There were, he asserted, in one district alone 270 such rooms. Houses to let out, he added, "are never cleaned or ventilated; they literally swarm with vermin. It is almost impossible to breathe. Missionaries are seized with vomiting or fainting upon entering them." Another missionary said: "I have felt the vermin dropping on my hat like peas. In some of the rooms I dare not sit, or I should be at once covered."

In other towns besides London the same condition of things prevailed.

The town clerk of Morpeth reported that some lodging-houses there "have no beds, but their occupiers are packed upon the floor in rows, the head of one being close to the feet of another. Each body is placed so close to its neighbor as not to leave sufficient space on which to set a foot. The occupants are entirely naked, except rugs drawn up as far as the waist; and when to this is added that the doors and windows are carefully closed, and that there is not the least distinction of sex, but men, women, and children lie indiscriminately side by side, some faint idea may be drawn of the state of these places, and their effect upon health, morals, and decency."

At Leeds, Lord Shaftesbury instanced a lodging-house with an average of more than ten persons to each bed, and had been told there were 222 such lodging-houses within a radius of a quarter of a mile,

At Bradford the poor were accommodated to a large extent in cellar dwellings of about four yards square. There would be collected "sometimes 20 persons, some in beds, some on the floor; naked men and women together; children with the smallpox in the midst of them." It would seem, however, that at Bradford there were penalties for overcrowding, and that those penalties were occasionally enforced; for Lord Shaftesbury mentions the case of a lodging-house keeper, who, when fined for overcrowding, excused himself on the plea that he could not "let them lie in the street."

That these revelations made a deep impression on the House may readily be credited, and probably an honorable member who "asked any man whether he could have believed that such things existed in this country" expressed the feeling of the

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great majority of his colleagues. It must not, however, be inferred that Lord Shaftesbury was by any means the only member of the House thoroughly conversant with the evils he denounced. An honorable member who had had the experience of service under the Board of Health—a government department—accentuated the remarks of Lord Shaftesbury, and asserted that he had been told at Wolverhampton, that within living memory all the inhabitants of a certain court had been transported twice over. This statement is somewhat obscure, but probably what the honorable member meant was that the number of persons sentenced to the old punishment of transportation during the period he referred to was equal to double the number accommodated at any one time in that court. But whatever may be the correct interpretation of his words, it is abundantly clear that the moral he intended to convey was that in his experience vice and overcrowding went hand in hand to a fearful extent.

Moreover, the Board of Health itself was familiar with the state of things laid before Parliament; for Lord Shaftesbury mentioned that the Board had examined 161 populous places, containing altogether very nearly two million inhabitants, "and he might safely say that without exception one uniform statement was made with respect to the domiciliary condition of large masses of the workpeople, that it was of one and the same disgusting character."

Under these circumstances it does seem astounding that it should have been left to a private member to deal on his own responsibility with evils so shocking, so dangerous to the moral and physical well-being of the nation, and so thoroughly well known to an important government department.

Nor must it be supposed that opinion outside Parliament had been quiescent on this subject. There were brave men before Agamemnon, and enterprising philanthropists had turned their attention to the better housing of the poor before Lord Shaftesbury aroused the House of Commons. He himself instanced the case of a public company that had spent £23,000 in London on building new lodging-houses and adapting old ones—a company paying the respectable dividend of six per cent. Again, in Glasgow very drastic measures had been taken. On one day during the year 1846, no less than 30,000 persons were evicted from cellars, and yet we have it on the authority of the Duke of Ar-

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gyll, as regards the evils of overcrowding in the great cities, that Scotland in 1851 was as bad if not worse than England.

Lord Shaftesbury's remedial proposals did not err on the side of stringency. This act did not oblige anybody to do anything. It was simply a permissive measure giving power to local authorities to erect lodging-houses, the local authorities endowed with this power in London being the Vestries. The act remained a dead letter for about forty years, except in Ireland, till the first London County Council availed themselves of its provisions as modified by subsequent acts to build an excellent model lodging-house near the slums of Drury Lane, containing an agreeable reading and recreation room to which county councillors occasionally resort, sometimes with their womankind, and administer suitable entertainment.

Lord Shaftesbury's act was followed in 1855 by the Metropolis Management Act, which effected a very important new departure. Under this act the London Vestries were assigned greater powers, the mode of their election was altered and an attempt was made to treat London outside the city as an administrative unit by the formation of a central body exercising jurisdiction over the whole metropolis, composed partly of nominees of the government and partly of persons elected by the Vestries and known as the Metropolitan Board of Works.

In 1866 a public health act was passed giving local authorities power to fix the number of inhabitants to each house, to register and inspect lodging-houses, to have them cleansed and to make sanitary by-laws. As regards this last power it was a privilege which in many quarters was by no means received with favor; indeed in Ireland some twenty years later only three towns had availed themselves of this provision. The year 1866 was also remarkable for bringing Mr. Torrens to the front as a "housing" reformer. In that year he introduced one of the acts known by his name, which on the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone was referred to a select committee, and became law in 1868. This act dealt with the demolition and construction of single houses, or small groups of houses, and unlike Lord Shaftesbury's act, applied not only to populous places, but all over the country.

Torrens' Act, however, even as amended in 1879, was seldom put in force. In London the Vestries were entrusted with its administration, but the London vestryman is not, as a rule, keen

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in matters of sanitary reform, and it must be admitted that the gloomy doubts which oppressed vestrymen as to the policy of enforcing the act were not altogether without justification. The principle on which the act proceeded was that of buying out slum landlords on extravagant terms. This was a costly process, and on that account objectionable. But there was another objection behind, of a much more serious character. It was argued with great force that to buy up slum property at a fancy price was to encourage the manufacture of slums by enterprising and unscrupulous landlords, who would hasten to invest the money received from the ratepayer for the privilege of demolishing one slum in the purchase of another property which, by suitable treatment, might become equally objectionable and yield a similar profit.

In 1875 the sanitary law was consolidated and amended except as regards London, which was still left under the act of 1866, and Lord Cross (then Sir Richard) passed the first of a series of enactments relating to the housing question which bear his name. Lord Cross's acts differ from the acts passed by Mr. Torrens in that the former deal with large, and the latter with small, areas, and in Cross's acts the authority to put them in motion was the Metropolitan Board of Works and not the Vestries; but they both were subject to the same error of giving compensation on a far too liberal scale to slum landlords. Parliament was not satisfied, and in 1881 a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the working of the housing acts.

In the following year the labors of that committee resulted in the passing of yet another act—the Artisans' Dwellings Act—reducing the scale of compensation to slum owners, and in 1883 the Local Government Board bestirred itself and issued an elaborate circular dealing with sanitation. It should be mentioned that several of the housing acts authorized loans of public money on more or less favorable terms for the construction of workmen's dwellings.

But all this activity in the Legislature and in government departments did not satisfy public opinion. The press took up the question. Mr. Chamberlain in the *Fortnightly* made a valuable suggestion that was doubtless read with interest by those "who toil not neither do they spin." "The expense," he wrote, "of

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making the towns habitable for the toilers who dwell therein must be thrown on the land which their toil makes valuable, and that without any effort on the part of the owners."

Public opinion, already in a restless and excited condition, was roused to enthusiasm by the appearance of a pamphlet bearing an attractive title, "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London." Slumming was as fashionable a pastime as cycling is now, and not nearly as dangerous. Something, it was clear, had to be done, not because the evil was spreading, for competent observers were agreed that both overcrowding and bad sanitation were steadily on the decline, but because public opinion had outstripped the leisurely pace of the Legislature and the sanitary authorities. So Lord Salisbury moved for the appointment of a Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, and in March, 1884, Sir William Harcourt, as Home Secretary, nominated a very strong commission, of which the Prince of Wales was a working member.

This commission took a great deal of evidence as to the extent and nature of the evils to be remedied, especially in London, evidence which is worthy of attention not only as furnishing a strong case for further legislative effort, but as affording an authoritative basis of comparison between the London of 1851 and of 1884.

Bad as matters still were, the worst horrors depicted by Lord Shaftesbury had disappeared. We no longer hear of a hundred men sleeping in a room containing air space sufficient only for three. We no longer read of men, women, and children huddled together like herrings in a barrel, and children with the smallpox were not any longer condemned to take their chance and propagate their malady in these filthy and crowded stews. But still families of seven, eight, and nine persons, some of whom were adults, were found in occupation of small, dark, and damp rooms, and where grown-up sons and daughters slept in the same room, lodgers would sometimes be taken in. It was found that some houses, decent in front, had no washhouses, no backyards, and no back ventilation. In houses let out into many tenements the street door was always kept open to suit the convenience of the crowd of inmates, a circumstance abundantly taken advantage of by tramps with no habitation, who fill up the passages and staircases rather than pay fourpence for a bed at a common lodging-house,

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or "doss-house" as they call it. Such intruders esteem themselves in luck to get shelter for nothing, and are known as "'Appy Dossers."

The value attached by the poor, and even by those who are not in the depths of poverty, to decent surroundings in family life is a very variable quantity. Decent lodging is not by any means universally regarded as one of the prime necessaries of life. Occasionally it is relegated to quite a back seat.

An instance was given before the Commission of a family of seven persons—father, mother, two grown-up sons, and three grown-up daughters—all living in one room. With them this arrangement was a matter of choice, not necessity, for they earned between them about £7 a week—more than £350 a year—and even from a slum landlord they could no doubt have afforded to rent another room or two. Having screwed down the item of rent to an irreducible minimum, they determined to have a thoroughly good time, and this is how the witness describes their proceedings: "In the evening they would all go out to the music halls, and to the theatres. On Saturday afternoon they would take five tickets each for some omnibus or conveyance that was going into the country, and on Sunday they would go to Brighton and to other places." It is comforting to reflect that these Arcadian beings were such a united family, and always took their pleasure together as well as their naps. It is not stated whether they took in lodgers.

If the poor were not always duly impressed with the necessity of avoiding foul and overcrowded lodgings, it was equally certain that in many cases the London Vestries, and indeed other sanitary authorities throughout the kingdom, took their duties easily. It was by no means universally acknowledged that to perform the work of an inspector necessitated any expert training, common sense being, as one witness put it, quite sufficient; and we find that a man who had been "something in the jewelery trade" was considered competent to inspect drains and report upon dangerous structures. The Commission, moreover, noted with misgiving that house farmers preponderated on certain committees of certain vestries, and recommended that the administration of Lord Shaftesbury's act and of Torrens' acts should be transferred from the Vestries to the Metropolitan Board of Works—the then central authority for London. This transfer was duly effected by

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the Legislature, and on the establishment in 1889 of the London County Council—that Frankenstein of the Conservative party which revealed in Conservative London an unsuspected vein of municipal radicalism—the representatives of the people presided over by Lord Rosebery took the housing question zealously in hand in all its branches.

Their efforts were immensely strengthened by the passing in 1891 of a Public Health Act for London, enabling them in default of the Vestries to execute themselves the necessary work of sanitation. Under the powers of that act and other recent legislation, particularly the Housing Act of 1890, they have cleared out and are now rebuilding a vast and unhealthy slum of 15 acres in the heart of the east end, and many other slums are being dealt with in like drastic fashion. They have built many blocks of workmen's dwellings, their model lodging house at 6d. a night is very popular, and having acquired from the government the site of Millbank prison, they are laying out part of it for workmen's dwellings.

It is disappointing to find that these operations have for the most part resulted in a considerable loss to the ratepayer. The clearing out of slums owing to the unsatisfactory state of the law, and the much more unsatisfactory state of the practice, as to compensation to owners of the property, cannot be otherwise than an expensive matter. Mr. Chamberlain complained that in Birmingham the cost of acquiring property running into millions was 70 per cent. above its market value. He considered it was the practice rather than the law that was at fault, and, indeed, it seemed impossible to persuade arbitrators not to give extravagant compensation. Lately, however, the principle of "betterment," so well known in the United States, has been sanctioned by the Legislature, and will do something to lessen the cost of doing away with slums and effecting improvements of every kind.

The Royal Commission gave some useful leads. They suggested that the slum landlord, instead of being bought out, should be kept up to his duty, that arbitrators should be prohibited from following their usual practice of assessing compensation on the increased value a property would derive from a proposed improvement, and that only such interests as an improvement necessarily interfered with need be bought up.

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With these views the Legislature has had no difficulty in agreeing, but slum-clearing remains an expensive process, and the London County Council cannot be excused of waste or extravagance on that score.

As regards the erection of lodging houses and dwellings for the poor, the case is different. Lord Rowton has built two model lodging houses in no way inferior to that of the County Council, and the nightly charge is the same. The first built of the two is a commercial success, and the other bids fair to be. But the Council's lodging house is conducted at a loss to the ratepayer.

Again, there are several Artisans' Dwellings Companies that are doing business on a firm commercial basis; but most of the Council's dwellings are carried on at a loss. Councillors are, however, quite alive both to the unfairness of saddling poor ratepayers with a portion of the cost of lodging persons, some of whom are no poorer than themselves, and also to the danger of interfering with private dwelling building enterprise by rate subsidized dwellings, and, taught by the light of experience, they are narrowly scanning the cost before proceeding to commit themselves to any further schemes.

The Royal Commission made several recommendations with the object of enabling artisans' dwellings to be erected at the least possible cost. Trustees and limited owners were to be allowed to sell land for housing purposes under the market value, and it was suggested that the owners of sites of disused prisons, in some cases county justices, and in some cases the government, should be encouraged to do likewise. So far the Legislature endorsed the views of the Commission, and the powers given have been acted upon; but another and far-reaching recommendation as to the rating of vacant land has been up to the present completely shelved.

The law of rating places an artificial impediment in the way of building in large towns by decreeing that land till it is built upon shall only pay rates on its agricultural value, so that a landowner may occupy a large and very valuable plot of building land as a pleasure ground and pay hardly any rates upon it. Thus, at a small expense, a great deal of land may be kept out of the building market. The Commission recommended the adoption of the American system of assessment on capital value, consider-

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ing that under that system there would be a free market in building sites, which would tend to the reduction of rent.

The difficulty of rehousing during the progress of improvement schemes, having regard to the great convenience, indeed, in some cases, the necessity of living near to one's work, was present to the Commission, which urged the importance of making rebuilding as far as possible simultaneous with the process of demolition.

Here the factor of cheap and speedy locomotion comes in and the service of trains and trams suitable to the pocket and needs of workingmen is a question that an extended suffrage has brought very much to the front, and bids fair to exercise a considerable influence on the housing problem.

How that problem will ultimately be solved it is impossible to forecast with any confidence. This much however is certain—that the evils of overcrowding and bad sanitation are steadily diminishing, and will continue to diminish. The Peabody & Guinness Trusts are and have been dealing on a large scale with the housing of the poor. Their efforts are being supplemented by those of numerous public companies, some of which have imposed upon themselves a maximum limit to their dividend of 4 or 5 per cent. Local authorities are making experiments in the same direction, and it has even been proposed, perhaps with doubtful wisdom, to increase the powers of those authorities by enabling them not only, as they can do at present, to erect workmen's dwellings, but also to take upon themselves the functions of building societies, and lend money to artisans to buy their own houses.

Perhaps the most satisfactory feature of the general outlook is that the standard of living of the working classes is being raised. Lord Rowton, an expert and enthusiast on workingmen's dwellings, and one of the prime movers in the administration of the Guinness Trust, finds that the demand for single-room tenements is decreasing, and that new buildings will have to be erected on more commodious lines than the old.

Many causes have no doubt contributed to this result. The crowded parts of London have now been thoroughly explored not only by the medical officer and the sanitary inspector, but by an army of philanthropists who live near the poor at Toynbee Hall and Oxford House and elsewhere; by missions started, maintained,

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and begged for by the clergy of all denominations, and by nurses and sisters whose devotion to their calling is beyond all praise.

Public opinion would seem to be tending in the direction of socialism. The individualism taught by Mr. Herbert Spencer is for practical purposes as extinct as the old high Tory. Possibly some day the local authorities or the state may undertake the housing of the poor to the exclusion of every other agency. Rent for these habitations may be light, or perhaps there may be none at all. In principle there is no very enormous difference between free education and free lodging. If for the general benefit we insist on people living decently against their will, they may urge that the expense should be borne by the community for whose convenience they are reluctantly compelled to turn out of their single tenements. This may or may not be the ultimate drift of public opinion. The realization of extreme socialistic views may or may not tend to the general good. These are debatable propositions. There is, however, one socialistic delusion for which no pretence of justification can be alleged. Socialists are constantly asserting that they worship at the shrine of Liberty. There never was a greater mistake than to suppose that socialism and liberty are congenial or even possible companions. Socialism can only be enforced under a cast-iron system of despotism crushing out individual predilections in a manner repugnant to every sentiment of liberty. The advantages of socialism may outweigh the despotic terrors by which the promulgation of its edicts must in the nature of things be accompanied, but in estimating those advantages, do not let us forget the price at which they are to be bought. The great Goddess of Liberty has indeed good reason to complain, not only, as Madame Roland said on the scaffold, of the crimes that are committed in her name, but of the ignorance and impudence of even well-intentioned worshippers in her temple.

MONKSWELL.

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COMMERCIAL TREND OF CHINA.

BY THOMAS R. JERNIGAN, UNITED STATES CONSUL-GENERAL TO CHINA.

THE recently published statement of the Statistical Secretary of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs that the foreign trade of China for 1896 is more valuable than that of any other year in the history of the Empire will give earnestness to the attention that follows commercial movements in Asian lands. Fortunately for the world, the interest of business is subordinating political ambition, and the influence which goes out from business centres is now the most potent factor in directing the course of history. China is to-day the great undeveloped country of the world, and the trend of her commerce cannot fail to invite the careful study of business men.

The total value of the foreign trade of China for 1896 was $270,273,846.00, an increase of $15,066,000.00 over the preceding year. This increase is more significant when considered in connection with the fact that there was a decline in exports of $9,882,000.00, which shows that, moved by the agencies of Western civilization, China, by increased importations, is awakening to an appreciation of that civilization. The margin of gain again appears in the revenue derived from the customs, being for 1896 $966,330.00 more than for 1895—another significant fact, when it is remembered that in previous years there were the collections from the two Formosan ports to be added, which aggregated annually about $810,000.00. To place before the business mar the infallible evidences of China's commercial trend, the following table has been carefully compiled from the latest customs returns. The years 1889 and 1896 have been selected, in the belief that the interval is sufficient to exempt re-

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sults from ephemeral market influences, and that the results shown will prove substantially accurate indications of that trend.

Country.	Imports.			Exports.		
	1889.	1896.	Per cent. increase.	1889.	1896.	Per cent. increase.
U. S. of America.	U. S. $3,082,587	U. S. $9,663,189	213.4	U. S. $,738,138	U. S. $9,010,115	56 9
Great Britain ..	17,145,559	36,102 823	110 5	12,682,094	9,138,459	27.9 decrease
Hong Kong ..	51,330,575	73.998,789	44	28,501,181	43,782,978	53.6
India	6,404,329	18,651,915	191.	882,871	1,762,445	99.6
Singapore and Straits .	1,518,061	2,624, 18	72.8	1,042,527	1,408,232	35.
Europe, except Russia	1,786,850	7,639.907	327.5	14,202,302	14.642.801	3.
Russia, *via* sea	474,798	1,646,232	246 7	2,291,183	3,455,314	50.8
Russia and Siberia *via* Kiakta	....	2,728	..	3,208,904	6,735,597	1 9 9
Rus. Manchuria.	145,799	156.633	7.4	404,2 3	1,883,429	365.9
Japan.	5,347,484	14,085,999	163 4	5,239 914	9,216,871	75.8
Macao ..	3,058,022	3,227,429	5 5	1,249,069	1,800,634	44.
Cochin China Tonkin and Annam	133,661	809,885	505 9	50,046	333,761	566 9
Siam.....	45,485	157,342	245 9	287,445	434,075	51.
Korea	97,556	373,889	283.	162,077	387,541	139.
All other countries	U. S. $1,170,562	U. S. $2,647,882	126.	U. S. $2,585,723	U. S. $2,571,234	00.5 decrease
Total.....	U. S. $91.741,328	U. S. $171,788,85	87.	U. S $78,527,737	U. S $106,563,48	35.7

A gratifying exhibit of the above table is that the trade relations between the United States and China were never so great in value as in 1896, that never in any year has China imported so largely from the United States. The highest rate of increase is seen in the trade with the new French Province on the southwestern border of China, and this is true both in imports and exports. In exports Russian Manchuria comes next and Russia in Siberia third.

The impetus given to the trade with Russia, since the close of the Japan-China war, is doubtless due to the substantial service rendered to China by Russia at that time, and the Russian Minister at Pekin has not allowed China to forget the obligation. A Minister less fertile in resources and diplomatic ability might have succeeded in giving a favorable direction to this trade, but Count Cassini has not only given such a direction, but he has laid deep the foundation for its expansion and opened the long-desired way for Russia to the Pacific Ocean, one of the greatest

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diplomatic achievements of the nineteenth century, as it pours sunlight into regions which have been heretofore inaccessible to even the faint rays of a higher civilization.

Next to Cochin China and Tonkin the highest percentage of gain in imports is by the continent of Europe, not including Russia. This is due to the expansion of German trade. The Germans are energetic in their efforts to foster and extend their commerce with China and are using every means to that end. There arrived at Canton, during the month of April, a commission appointed by the German government instructed to study carefully the needs of China and the best methods of advancing the interests of German merchants in that country. And for some time there has been in China a commission for a similar purpose, under the auspices of the British government, amply supplied with all necessary means for studying China from every business standpoint.

Such are some of the efforts of European nations to enlarge their trade relations, and all in addition to their powerful banking corporations and trade journals established and in successful operation in China.

These facts should not pass unconsidered by the business men of the United States. They should not be content to learn from others. It would materially conduce to their interest if they would have an organized commission to view the whole field of China's present and future commercial capacity and thus qualify themselves to utilize all developments on tradal lines. A commission sent to a principal business port of Asia for a few weeks only cannot qualify itself to write intelligently on the trade of Asia. The customs, the habits, the prejudices of the Asiatic races, are primary lessons to be learned before judicious calculations can be made for business ventures, and time and study are required to master such lessons.

Returning to the table, the basis of this paper, there is proof of the strength of Asiatic commerce in the rapidly developing trade of Korea; for, although that unfortunate country continues to be the prey of political factions and the subject of diplomatic experiments, the imports for 1896 were the most valuable on record, though the exports were not so large as in 1894. There is now being built a railroad from the capital of Korea to Chemulpo, the principal seaport town; and the spirit of enter-

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prise is abroad in that kingdom, which means an expansion of commercial relations.

The lion's share of China's trade still belongs to Great Britain. The decline in exports to Great Britain, which began in 1880, is doubtless due to the activity of Indian industries, which each year supply a larger proportion of the staple that China had hitherto supplied. A decline in exports is also seen in the returns for Australia and New Zealand. While apparently 70 per cent. of the entire foreign trade of China is credited to Great Britain, however, it should be noted that more than one-half must be credited to the Crown Colony of Hong Kong, and when the trade which should be credited to Hong Kong is closely analyzed, it will be found that it is not all British. Hong Kong is a distributing port. All that enters China from that colony has come originally from Europe, America, Australia, or India; and most of the exports through that port go on to other parts of the world. The figures do not, therefore, clearly show the state of the trade. In the case of the United States, for example, a considerable value of the imports into China has been credited to Hong Kong, and this because the steamships of the Pacific Mail and the Occidental and Oriental lines from San Francisco called, until November last, at no other port in China. Their cargoes were landed at Hong Kong, whence they were transshipped to China. To name but one item of the cargoes, there was flour to the value of $1,219,579 imported into China, mostly if not all from the United States, in 1896, and yet it came into China chiefly through Hong Kong. Now, however, that the steamships named have made Shanghai a port of call, the vagueness in the returns can in a measure be corrected; though, as the trade of Southern China still passes through Hong Kong it will be difficult to make the returns accurate.

A careful examination of the Statistical Secretary's statement discloses the fact that, while there has been a decided increase in imports from Western countries, it is only with Asiatic countries that Chinese export trade is growing. The percentage of increase in the imports of Asiatic countries from 1889 to 1896 was 60.3 per cent., and from other countries it was 143.6 per cent., while the percentage of increase in the exports of Asiatic countries was 65.6 per cent., and in other countries it was only 1.7 per cent. In this connection the observation with reference to the trade of

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Hong Kong should be considered in addition to the fact that the cession of Formosa to Japan affects the aggregate of China's foreign trade as compared with the returns of previons years. Whereas, the direct foreign shipments from Formosa in 1894 amounted to $1,012,500, and the imports from foreign countries into Formosa, the same year, to more than $2,673,000, the exports to the island in 1896 were valued at $539,500, and the imports at the large sum of $4,715,400. And these sums have much to do with the handsome increase of 163.4 per cent. in imports from Japan, and that of 75.8 per cent. in exports to the same country.

The responsibility for the material reduction in the value of exports, already indicated, is charged to the staple articles of tea, silk, and cottons. In the staple of raw cotton, the export of which decreased from 896,000 piculs* in 1895 to 418,000 in 1896, the fall is explained by the local demand for the product of the new cotton mills erected at Shanghai and the neighboring cities, which has advanced the price and made shipments unprofitable. The condition of the silk market, in which there was a falling off of 22,200 piculs, is accounted for by a bad crop, reduced consumption abroad and a partly successful attempt of Chinese dealers to "corner the market." In the one item of black tea there was a decrease of 211,500 piculs, due in a measure to the loss of Formosa shipments and the diminished production. But the noticeable decline of late in the tea trade of China has excited real uneasiness among tea growers and merchants, and to counteract the tendency a Tea Improvement Company has been organized at Foochow to improve, by the aid of the latest machinery and skilful supervision, the preparation of tea, raising the quality with the hope of recovering all lost ground. The ambition of British trade is to sell and not to buy, and under the influence of this laudable ambition the extensive tea farms of India are receiving the fostering care of Britishers. It cannot be disguised, however, that there has been a steadily increasing shipment of China tea to India. In 1887 there were 2,106,600 pounds shipped from China to India; in 1894, 4,333,300 pounds; and in 1896, 6,226,600 pounds. This may be like shipping coal to Newcastle, but the fact remains that China teas, particularly the green, better suit the taste of Asiatic consumers.

*Picul=133 pounds.

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The increased value of imports for 1896 over 1895 was mainly contributed to by cotton and woollen goods, metals and kerosene oil. The demand for woollens, however, is not a steady demand, and the annual value of imported woollens during the past ten years has greatly fluctuated, varying from a minimum of $2,430,000 to a maximum of $4,536,000. In 1886 cotton goods constituted 33 per cent. of the total value of all imports; in 1896 the value was 39 per cent., more than keeping pace with the growth of trade. It is again pleasing to note that this prosperity in cotton goods is cardinally due to the superior grade of American cottons, which by virtue of such superiority command and hold a position in the markets of China which is strengthened by the test of durability. In 1888 there were 496,096 pieces of American drills imported, valued at $1,007,796; in 1896, 1,226,759 pieces, valued at $2,860,396. In 1888 there were of American sheetings 1,557,830 pieces, valued at $3,154,659; in 1896, 2,257,600 pieces, valued at $5,400,559. And in 1888 there were only 8,412 pieces of American jeans imported, valued at $12,638, while in 1896 the number of pieces aggregated 52,840, valued at $95,664. The three totals for 1896 amount to 71 per cent. of the value of all cottons of these classes imported during that year. While there has been, on the whole, a steady improvement in the demand for metals, it has not kept pace with the general improvement of trade. In 1886 metals constituted six per cent. of the total imports, and in 1896 it was only four per cent. American kerosene oil still leads the market, but has yielded somewhat to Russian and Dutch competition. Other items in which there has been considerable expansion are these :

Articles.	1888.	1895.	1896.
	U. S.	U. S.	U. S.
Candles	.....	$73,213	$127,880
Dyes, aniline	$753,879	696,181	1,252,341
Flour	462,134	1,187,375	1,219,579
Window glass	163,408	167,402	281,984
Machinery	301,960	1,932,016	1,672,197
Matches	882,772	1,550,738	1,700,684
Needles	242,300	234,686	512,957
Soap	120,037	288,788	421,138
Timber	760,190	991,939	957,820
Cigars and cigarettes	.....	226,214	324,663

It is estimated that a million pounds of English candles were

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imported into China in 1895, and the imports from Holland and France would probably aggregate another million. This article is steadly growing in favor with the Chinese.

If these figures enable the business man to form an intelligent opinion as to the direction in which the volume of China's trade is moving, the purpose of this paper will have been accomplished. It is believed that the figures which show that the importation of cotton goods from the United States is annually increasing in value also attest that every advance in civilization by China will open new markets for such goods. So long as the grade of cotton produced in China remains inferior, every agency of Western civilization at work in the Empire will be an agency for furthering the sale of the goods manufactured from the superior grade of American cotton. This logical conclusion Japanese mills have recognized by increasing their importation of American raw cotton in order to drive out the Western competition and supply the demand now supplied by Western mills. It is in this way that the manufacturers of Japan propose first to neutralize and finally achieve a victory over Western competition. They do not hope to become rivals in Western markets, but they are ambitious of conquering all rivals in Asiatic markets. The conservatism of China has thus far blinded her to the advantages of a favorable soil and climatic influences in the production of a grade of cotton far superior to that now produced; but their conservatism will sooner or later give way before more enlarged and enlightened business connections; and then it may be demonstrated that in China a grade of cotton can be produced equal to that which whitens the Mississippi bottoms or the uplands of Texas. Upon the solution of this problem depends the extent of the demand of Asiatic markets for the production of Western mills.

THOMAS R. JERNIGAN.

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE LIBERATION OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN COLONIES.

BY M. ROMERO, MEXICAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

THE independence of the United States, proclaimed in 1776, recognized by England in the treaty signed at Paris on September 3d, 1783, and based really on economic reasons, and, still more, the recognition of that independence by Spain, principally on account of her hostility to England, and at the suggestion of her ally, France, at that time waging war upon England, could not fail to produce a very great impression in the Spanish colonies of America. These events showed the native Americans that the European colonies of this continent had the right, recognized by Spain, to sever their connection with the mother country, not only for political but for economic reasons. It was for that consideration that the Count de Aranda, a very able Spanish statesman, advised Charles III., immediately upon the recognition of the United States by Spain, in a treaty signed in Paris in 1783, to establish among the Spanish possessions in America three great empires—Mexico, Peru, and a third on the Spanish Main, or in New Granada, Venezuela, etc., under the rule of three members of the Spanish royal family. He proposed that the King should assume the title of Emperor, that the new sovereigns should intermarry into the Spanish royal family, and that each of them should pay an annual tribute into the Spanish treasury. Although this scheme might have proved difficult of realization, and might have undergone radical changes, the final result would certainly have been less disastrous to Spain than the complete emancipation of her American colonies.

The French revolution, which was to a certain extent the result of American independence, must have had a great influence

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also on the minds of the native Americans, since it was a very serious blow to the theory of divine right by which it was then supposed in the Western World that nations were governed, as well as a recognition of the natural rights of the people; and this notwithstanding that the discreditable and sanguinary deeds of that revolution, and especially its acts of hostility to the Catholic religion, were represented by the Spanish authorities to the American colonists as being the acts of frenzied men, inspired by the worst passions, and as illustrating the excesses to which the people were liable when unrestrained by their legitimate rulers. The fact that the Bourbons were not restored to power, but that the French revolution took a conservative turn and was finally succeeded by the Empire of the First Napoleon, who ruled, not by divine right, but as the choice of the people for the benefit of the people, was the final blow to the principles on which the rule of the Spanish monarchy in America was based.

European Conspiracy to Accomplish Independence.—I have no information that would lead me to believe that the Mexicans who favored the independence of their country had organized, for the promotion of their cause, any secret society or political revolutionary centre, either in Mexico or in Europe, before our independence was proclaimed. From a revolutionary manifesto * signed in Paris on the 22d of December, 1797, by Don José del Poso y Sucre, Don Manuel José de Salas and Don Francisco de Miranda, who called themselves "delegates from the Junta of Deputies from the Provinces and the people of South America, which convened at Madrid, Spain, on October 8, 1797, to settle upon the best means of effecting the independence of the American colonies of Spain," it appears that prominent men from South America had been endeavoring since 1782 to establish independence. To aid in attaining that object, the alliance of England, at that time at war with France, was recommended. They entered into several negotiations with England to that end, especially one initiated in London in 1790, with the British Premier, as a consequence of the conference held at Holliwood, which, it was stated, had been approved by the South American provinces, for the purpose of obtaining from Great Britain a naval

* This paper was published in 1815, by ex-President John Adams, in the *Boston Advertiser*, with a letter addressed to the editor, Mr. Lloyd, in defence of his course in that incident and reproduced in Spanish by Señor Don Ricardo Becerra, in the first volume of his book, *Vida de Don Francisco de Miranda*, published in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1896.

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force not exceeding 20 warships, 8,000 infantry, and 2,000 cavalry, the provinces promising to pay to England a pecuniary indemnity which the *Edinburgh Review* stated was to be 30,000,000 pounds sterling, after their independence was accomplished, and to grant her besides certain commercial advantages.

In that manifesto it was suggested that the United States of America should be invited to make a treaty of friendship and alliance with South America, "on the bases that the possession of the two Floridas and of Louisiana should be guaranteed to the United States, so as make the Mississippi the boundary between the two great nations, and that to the United States and Great Britain should be given all the islands of the American Archipelago, except Cuba, the Key of the Gulf of Mexico." In return for these advantages it was proposed that the United States should furnish to South America an army of 5,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry.

That document entrusted the leadership of the scheme, and the military operations necessary to carry it out, as well as the negotiations with England and the United States, to General Don Francisco de Miranda, a native of Caracas, educated in Europe, who had served in the Spanish army up to 1785, and in the French Republic under the orders of General Dumouriez in 1793. He had been tried for treason and acquitted. He visited Russia during the reign of the Empress Catherine, and was the real head and centre of the conspiracy prepared in Europe to emancipate the American colonies of Spain. General Miranda believed that he had secured the assistance of the British government, and it appears that he had some promises of assistance from Pitt, then the British Premier, which, however, were never carried out.

It seemed natural to suppose that, while Great Britain was waging war against Spain in 1798, the British government would have been not only willing, but even anxious, to divert her attention by assisting the insurrection of her colonies. That was not exactly the case, however, because England expected that Spain would sever her alliance with France and so aid England in her war against the French revolutionary government. With that object, England sent an agent to Madrid to give assurances to the Spanish government that she would not assist in the colonial insurrection if Spain gave up her alliance with France. At the same

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time instructions were sent to the English authorities in the Island of Trinidad to assist in the South American insurrection and to prepare an expedition for that purpose, as Mr. Rufus King, the United States Minister in London, communicated to Mr. Pickering, the Secretary of State, in a dispatch dated on February 26, 1798. Had England assisted directly in securing the independence of the Spanish colonies, that would have defeated her purpose of obtaining the support of Spain in her war against the French government. This was especially the case after Napoleon obtained the ascendancy in France, and more so after the events of 1808, culminating in the treaty of Bayonne. When the Spanish nation rose against the French troops which occupied its territory, England naturally was not disposed to embarrass Spain, whom she considered and at length found to be a very valuable ally against Napoleon, and therefore all the efforts of Miranda and of the leaders of the insurrection in America to obtain material assistance from England were unavailing.

Although the document above referred to seems to be restricted to South America, Central America is also mentioned in connection with a promise "to open to trade the Isthmuses of Nicaragua and Panama"; and incidentally Mexico is also mentioned in a statement that "the deputies of the viceroyalties of Mexico, Santa Fé, Lima, and Rio de la Plata, and of the Provinces of Caracas, Quito, Chile, etc., assembled in a legislative body, should decide definitively about the commercial advantages to be granted to England and the allies of South America." It is probable, however, that this reference to Mexico was made on the supposition that Mexico, by reason of similarity of race, language, and institutions, would follow the lead of South America. I have no knowledge of any Mexican having taken part in the conference.

It was further stated in that document that "Don José del Poso y Sucre and Don Manuel José de Salas should set out at once for Madrid to report to the Junta the result of their mission to Paris, carrying with them a copy of the same, and that as soon as this was done the Junta should adjourn and its members should go immediately to the American continent to promote simultaneously insurrections in all the towns of South America, to take place as soon as the assistance furnished by the allies should appear." A copy of that paper was given to General

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Miranda, as his credentials, to represent the Junta before the British and American governments.

Mr. King in his dispatch to Mr. Pickering already referred to, reported that he had met in London several Jesuits of South America, from whom he learned that they were working for the emancipation of the Spanish colonies in America. They had lived for many years in London in the service and under the pay of the British government, and they had shown Mr. King the papers that they had prepared for presentation to the British government. From a letter addressed by ex-President Adams on March 6, 1815, to Mr. Lloyd, editor of the *Morning Advertiser* of Boston, explaining his conduct while President of the United States in connection with the efforts of Miranda to obtain the assistance of the United States to emancipate the American colonies of Spain, it appears that Don José del Poso y Sucre and Don Manuel José de Salas, who signed the document in conjunction with General Miranda, were Jesuits, probably of the number mentioned by Mr. King; and to the fact, Mr. Adams intimated, that the immediate predecessor of Charles IV., who was at the time (1798) King of Spain, had expelled the Jesuits from his American dominions, was due their action in the matter, they being influenced by a desire to take revenge on the Spanish monarch. There is no doubt that Pitt had detained in London some Spanish Jesuits who took a very active part in the conspiracy to promote the insurrection and who wrote several manifestoes and inflammatory documents which were to be distributed in the American colonies.

Expedition of General Miranda to Venezuela in 1806.—General Miranda sent to the United States in November, 1798, his friend and co-worker, Señor Caro, for the purpose of obtaining the assistance of this government. It appears that the scheme had the good will of Alexander Hamilton, who was at the time organizing a military force to be used in case of war with France, and that it also had the sympathy of Aaron Burr. President Adams, however, following a conservative policy, and having due regard to the neutrality laws, did not embark in the adventure, and did not receive Señor Caro. In November, 1805, General Miranda came to the United States and was received both by President Jefferson and by Mr. Madison, the Secretary of State. He organized in New York an expedition of about two

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hundred men, which left that port on February 3, 1806, on the ship "Leander" for Jaquemel in the Island of Hayti, where he was joined by two transports, the "Bacchus" and the "Abeja." Mr. William S. Smith, Jr., a grandson of ex-President John Adams, and a son of Colonel William S. Smith, surveyor of the Port of New York, went in that expedition as aid to General Miranda. In consequence of that, Colonel Smith had to resign and he was indicted, and a noisy trial followed in which he was acquitted.

Miranda reached the coast of Venezuela, at Ocumare, but there he lost his two transports, which were captured by the Spaniards together with sixty-seven men, ten of whom were hanged at Puerto Cabello, the remaining fifty-seven being sent to the military prison of San Felipe el Real, in Cartagena.

Miranda met in the Island of Barbadoes, Sir Alexander Cochran, Admiral of the British Navy, who addressed him a letter dated June 6, 1806, on board his flagship, the "Northumberland," in which he stated that Miranda's plan to achieve the independence of South America was advantageous to British interests, and agreed to assist in landing Miranda's forces on the coast of Venezuela, and to provide him with three small vessels and probably one frigate, and to defend Miranda's ships against any attacks from the Spanish naval forces. In exchange for his assistance he demanded certain commercial advantages to be granted when independence should be achieved. Miranda left Grenada escorted by the English man-of-war "Lily," the brig "Empress" and the merchant schooner "Trimmer." In Trinidad he had been reinforced, his army consisting of about four hundred men and he landed at Coro. But nobody joined him, all the natives having fled to the interior on his arrival, and he was forced to leave the mainland and to return to the Antilles.

In 1811, Miranda went again to Venezuela and succeeded in organizing a force with which he began the war, but he was obliged to surrender, and was sent to a Spanish prison in Cadiz, where he died in 1816, without seeing his country's independence accomplished. But he had been the forerunner of Bolivar.

Beginning of Mexican Independence.—The causes which, in my opinion, did more than anything else to precipitate the independence of the American colonies were the disgraceful dissensions of the Spanish royal family in 1808 at Aranjuez and their subservience to Napoleon, which culminated in their

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abdication in favor of the Emperor. This was accomplished by the Treaty of Bayonne, which transferred to the French Emperor all the rights and titles of Charles IV. to the throne of Spain and the Indies, including the American colonies. The Spanish people strenuously resisted the French invasion and established Juntas in Spain and the colonies to rule the country in the name of Ferdinand VII., the heir of the King, whom Bonaparte had compelled to abdicate. It was in this manner that the native Americans acquired for the first time some control of their own affairs and began to realize that they could take care of themselves. Although the principal Spanish Junta, which met at Cadiz, called representatives to the Cortes from the Spanish colonies, the representation of the latter was very meagre, and that step, instead of satisfying the colonists, only demonstrated to them that the Spaniards were determined not to allow them self government. Thus the idea of independence gradually gained ground all over the American continent.

That such was the case is shown by the remarkable coincidence that the insurrections in all the American colonies of Spain took place within the same year and almost at the same moment, and, I think, without any previous accord among them. The distances were so great and the means of communication so scanty, slow, and difficult, that news of the outbreak of an insurrection in one colony could not have been received in the others for several months, in some cases not for a year or more, after it had occurred.

This fact shows, in my opinion, that the colonies were ripe for independence, and that a condition of things had been reached which made independence a necessity that could not be postponed or smothered. Although there had been several attempts at independence in the American colonies of Spain before the year 1810, especially the one at Chuquisaca, now Sucre, in Bolivia, on May 25, 1809, independence was not proclaimed until the following year, on May 25 in Buenos Ayres, July 20 in Bogotá, and in September in Mexico and all the other colonies.

It is possible that the Mexican patriots had heard of the several attempts made in the other Spanish colonies to proclaim independence, but I have no doubt that no real importance was attached to such news, and that it had no influence upon their conduct. In Mexico the Viceroy Iturrigaray began to organize

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in 1808, after the Treaty of Bayonne, an army for the purpose of defending the colony against the French. The Spanish residents became jealous of the Viceroy, deposed him and sent him back to Spain, appointing another Viceroy in his place. That, naturally, destroyed the respect which the Mexican people had for the representative of the Spanish King, and showed them that force, when successful, was justifiable and could accomplish great things. The way was thus prepared for a series of military revolutions which continued to break out for about sixty years.

The South American leaders, if we are to judge by the opinions expressed in the document above referred to, and more especially General Miranda, who had undoubtedly military talent and was a distinguished soldier and an enthusiast in the cause of independence, were of opinion that independence could not be achieved with native resources only, and that it required as an indispensable element the armed assistance of foreign nations, although they never succeeded in obtaining any. The views of the Mexican leaders were altogether different. They never dreamed of any foreign assistance, and they relied entirely upon the strength and resources of their own country. It is true that Hidalgo, soon after he proclaimed independence, and while he was retreating toward the north, sent a representative to the United States, but I do not think he had any idea of asking for material assistance, and desired only to obtain the good will of a neighboring country in the contingency that, in the course of his military operations, he should reach its frontiers.

The United States did not Assist the Independence Cause.— The United States government did not render either material or moral assistance to the cause of the independence of the Spanish-American colonies. At various times they sent commissioners to examine into the condition of those countries, especially to Buenos Ayres, as I will presently state more in detail; but, being at peace with Spain, they considered that it would be a breach of neutrality to aid the movement for establishing independence in her colonies. They did not recognize the independence of the colonies until several years after it had been fully accomplished. Mexico, for instance, established her independence in 1821, but the United States did not recognize Mexico as an independent nation until 1824, though she was a neighboring country.

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Mr. Lyman, in his book, *Diplomacy of the United States*, says that "these revolutionary struggles did not awaken any great general interest in our citizens." "Our government," he adds, "was left free and unembarrassed to pursue its steady course of good faith and exact neutrality toward Spain, and of justice and policy towards the colonies." He further says: "Neither the vicinity of some portions of their respective territories, nor the circumstance of being members of the same continent, nor the benefit to be derived from commercial relations, nor the similarity of their struggles for independence, appears in the least to have influenced the definite arrangements of this government. On the contrary, the business was conducted with the utmost caution and circumspection, and nothing was done to give offence to Spain, or awaken in other nations the slightest suspicion of the loyalty with which this country was determined to adhere to its system of neutrality."

Mr. Lyman concludes by saying that the United States was the first country to recognize the independence of the Spanish American colonies, but that the recognition was delayed until not a shadow of hope for the restoration of Spanish dominion remained.

Commissioners Sent by the United States to the Revolted Colonies.—Between 1810 and 1820 the President of the United States sent commissioners on three different occasions to South America, in order to obtain reliable and exact information regarding the real situation of affairs there. The first mission was entrusted by Mr. Monroe, as Secretary of State, to Mr. Joel R. Poinsett, as agent to Buenos Ayres, and was dated June 26, 1810. Mr. Alexander Scott was sent as agent to Venezuela on May 12, 1812. Mr. Poinsett's report on the condition of South America was dated November 4, 1818.

The second commission was sent by the President in 1817, and consisted of Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. Cæsar A. Rodney, and Mr. John Graham, who were instructed to examine into the conditions of Buenos Ayres and Chile. The reports of Mr. Rodney and Mr. Graham, dated November 5, 1818, and Mr. Bland's report, dated November 2, 1818, were transmitted to Congress on November 17 of the same year. Appended to the first two reports is a "Historical sketch of the revolution of the United Provinces of South America, from the 25th of May, 1810, until the open-

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ing of the National Congress on the 25th of March, 1816, written by Doctor Gregorio Funes, and appended to his History of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, and Tucuman."

The third commission was entrusted to Mr. T. B. Prevost and Mr. John M. Forbes, sent in 1820 as commercial agents to Chile and Buenos Ayres. Their reports were transmitted to Congress, the one on March 8 and the other on April 26, 1822. It is remarkable that no commission was sent to Mexico.

Commissioners Sent by the Revolted Colonies to the United States.—The leaders of the independence cause in Spanish America sent Commissioners to the United States for the purpose of obtaining the recognition by this government of their independence, and, if possible, material assistance. I have already referred to the Commissioner sent from Mexico by Hidalgo, and the other Commissioners of whom I find a record, were the following:

Don Juan Vicente Bolivar and Don Telésforo Orca were furnished with credentials dated at Caracas, April 25, 1810, and full powers to transact business. A copy of the Declaration of Independence of the Province of Venezuela, made by the Congress composed of deputies assembled in Caracas, was communicated by them to the United States government, and transmitted to Congress on December 9, 1811. These agents were not allowed to have any official intercourse with the United States government.

On December 11, 1818, Señor Don Lino Clemente informed the Secretary of State that he had been appointed Venezuela's representative "near the United States," and requested an interview; but he was informed that no conference could be held with him and no communication received from him by this government. His letters were submitted to the House of Representatives with the President's Message of January 29, 1819, accompanied by a report from Mr. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, giving the reasons in full for delaying recognition at that time.

Don Manuel H. de Aguirre came to this country in 1817 as a public agent from La Plata and a private one from Chile, and addressed several letters to the Secretary of State, in 1817 and 1818, soliciting the acknowledgment of the Province of Buenos Ayres, which were transmitted to the House of Representatives, March 25, 1818, with a report from Secretary Adams, of that

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date. No answers were given to his letters, although conferences were held with him, and the President declined to enter into any negotiations with Señor Aguirre, because the latter did not appear furnished with powers to negotiate and because he thought that the independence of the Provinces had not yet been established.

A short time after the declination of Aguirre's application, in May, 1818, David C. de Forrest renewed the consideration of the same claim, by soliciting this government to admit him as a consul general. The President did not grant the permission, because he thought it was not clear that the province even claimed entire independence, Buenos Ayres having the intention at that time to offer special commercial favors to Spain as a consideration for the relinquishment of her claims to sovereignty.

But neither the commissioners sent by the United States to the American colonies of Spain nor those sent by those colonies to the United States influenced in any way the attitude of strict neutrality observed by the United States government in the war for independence of the Spanish colonies in America.

The United States Adhered to the Strictest Neutrality in the War of Independence.—The question of recognizing the independence of the American colonies of Spain was first brought up in the United States on March 24, 1818, by Henry Clay, who felt great sympathy for the struggling Spanish colonies, and sought to obtain their recognition through legislative action. He proposed an appropriation of $18,000 for the outfit and one year's salary of a minister to be deputed from the United States to the independent provinces of the River Plata in South America. This motion led to a discussion as to whether the power of recognizing foreign governments resided in the Executive or in Congress. The majority of the House seemed to be in favor of the Executive, and the motion was defeated on May 28, 1818, by a vote of 115 to 45.

On January 2, 1819, President Monroe's Cabinet considered the question of the recognition of Buenos Ayres. The Cabinet was divided on the question, Mr. Calhoun being of opinion that this country should act in concurrence with Great Britain, Mr. Crawford that it should send a minister to Buenos Ayres, and Mr. Adams thinking that the minister should come from Buenos Ayres seeking recognition.

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Mr. Clay renewed his resolution, which was discussed by the House on May 10, 1820, asserting "that it was expedient to provide by law a suitable outfit for such minister or ministers as the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, may send to any of the governments of South America which have established and are maintaining their independence of Spain," and this resolution was carried by a vote of 80 to 75. On February 9, 1821, Mr. Clay again moved his $10,000 appropriation bill for a minister to any South American government "which has established and is maintaining its indepencence of Spain." This was lost by a vote of 86 to 79. On the following day he introduced a resolution expressing "the interest of the people of the United States, which was shared by the House of Representatives, in the success of the Spanish provinces of South America struggling to establish their liberty and independence, and offering its constitutional support to the President of the United States, whenever he may deem it expedient to recognize the sovereignty and independence of any of said provinces." The first clause of this resolution was carried by a vote of 134 to 12 and the second by a vote of 87 to 68. A committee of two members was appointed to lay these resolutions before the President, and Mr. Clay, one of those members, in his report of February 19, said "that the President assured the committee that he felt a great interest in the success of the provinces of South America and that he would take the resolution into deliberate consideration with the most perfect respect for the distinguished body from which it had emanated."

On January 31, 1822, Mr. Trimble, of Kentucky, introduced a joint resolution stating that the "President was authorized and requested to acknowledge the independence of the Republics of Colombia, and that the Spanish provinces of South America that had established and were maintaining their independence of Spain ought to be acknowledged." Before this resolution was acted upon, Mr. Nelson, of Virginia, introduced another resolution asking the President to lay before the House the documents relating to the South American question, and in response to this resolution President Monroe sent to the House his message of March 8, 1822, in which he stated that, in his opinion, the time had come to recognize the South American provinces as independent countries. Thereupon Mr. Russell, of Massachusetts, in behalf of

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the Committee on Foreign Affairs, introduced two resolutions. In the first the House "expressed its concurrence in the opinion contained in the message of the President, of March 8, 1822, that the late American provinces of Spain, which had declared their independence and were in the enjoyment of it, ought to be recognized by the United States as independent nations"; and the second "instructing the Committee on Ways and Means to prepare a bill appropriating a sum not to exceed $100,000 to enable the President to give due effect to such provision." Both resolutions were approved by the House.

The Monroe Doctrine.—President Monroe's famous message of December 2, 1823, in which he announced the American continental policy bearing his name, was of course issued almost two years after he had recognized, in his message of March 8, 1822, the independence of the American colonies of Spain. But that recognition was then only theoretical, as the United States neither sent to nor received from those countries any representative until some years later.

In that year, 1823, two specific dangers threatened the Western Hemisphere. The northwest boundary between the United States and Canada had not then been determined and the territory in dispute had not been occupied or even fully explored. Russia, by formal proclamation in 1821, had set up a claim to territory along the Pacific coast as far south as the fifty-first parallel, and had given unmistakable signs of her intention to plant a Russian colony within the disputed territory. The movement was alarming to Great Britain as well as to the United States.

The other cause of alarm was that the Metternich-Bourbon reaction had set in, and there was good reason to fear that the attempt was about to be made to resubjugate the Spanish-American colonies. This fear found ample justification in the attitude of the "Holy Alliance," formed immediately after the downfall of Napoleon, by Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France, for the avowed object of protecting the Catholic religion and the Divine Right of Kings. This alliance was offered for signature to all the monarchs of Europe except the Pope and the Sultan. Of all the powers Great Britain alone declined to join in the Alliance, but under the leadership of Metternich this combination proceeded with its reactionary work. In 1821 it sent an Austrian

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army into Italy to prevent the adoption of a constitution at Naples, and two years later it threw a French army into Spain to suppress a popular movement in behalf of the free constitution of 1812 and to reinstate the Bourbon dynasty. Having thus put under its heel all opposition in Europe, the Alliance proposed a congress to consider the subjugation of the revolted Spanish colonies in America, and the re-establishment of Spanish authority in the Western Hemisphere. Before matters were far advanced, the design became known to Great Britain, and word concerning it was at once sent by the British Minister to the government of the United States. President Monroe immediateiy consulted Jefferson and Madison, as well as his cabinet, of whom John Quincy Adams and Calhoun were the most prominent members. All agreed that the matter was of such momentous interest as to justify a formal remonstrance. John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, wrote a declaration of policy relating to colonization, and Jefferson a similar declaration in regard to interference. These two were tacked together by President Monroe and embodied in his message, which can be summarized in the following four propositions :

1. That the United States would not tolerate further colonization in the American continent by European powers.

2. That they would not permit the subjugation or subversion of any American government by the governments of Europe.

3. That they would not allow the extension to America of the monarchical system of the "Holy Alliance."

4. That the United States had not interfered and would not interfere with any of the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power on this continent.

The Spanish-American Republics and Cuba.—There is one case in which the United States prevented the independence of two Spanish colonies in America.

When Bolivar had driven the Spanish from Colombia, he thought his task was not ended and that his republic was not safe as long as the enemy was in possession of the adjoining country. He, therefore, took an armed expedition to Peru with which he accomplished the independence of that country, decided at the battle of Ayacucho. How well grounded that fear was is shown by the fact that in 1829 the Spanish government sent to Mexico an armed expedition from Havana under General Barradas, which

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landed at the port of Tampico, for the purpose of subduing again the colony of New Spain, as Mexico was then called. But the independence had gained such a foothold that it was easy for us to defeat that expedition.

After Bolivar had accomplished in 1824 the independence of the northern half of South America, he thought that his task was not finished before the Spanish were driven from Cuba and Puerto Rico, as the possession by them of those controlling islands—especially the former—would give Spain an important foothold on this continent, from which she could attack at any time her revolted colonies. This danger was of a great deal more consequence to Mexico on account of the proximity of Cuba to that country, and both the governments of Mexico and Colombia contemplated a plan of military operations, for the purpose of accomplishing the independence of the island of Cuba. This step was in accordance with the conduct followed by Colombia and Mexico before the accomplishment of their independence.

When the government of the United States heard of the scheme of the Mexican and Colombian governments for the liberation of Cuba, Mr. Clay, Secretary of State of the United States, addressed a letter to the Mexican and Colombian Ministers at Washington, on December 20, 1825, requesting that their respective governments should suspend any expedition that they might be preparing against the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, on the ground that the United States could under no circumstances permit them to fall under the sovereignty of England and that they could not be indifferent to the islands passing to the possession of France, and that, therefore, the only solution of the question was to leave the islands in possession of Spain. A copy of this communication was sent by Mr. Clay to Mr. Everett, United States Minister at Madrid, with a despatch dated at Washington, April 13, 1826, from which I have borrowed this information. In that despatch Mr. Clay stated that the United States government thought that England was at the bottom of the scheme to liberate Cuba and that, if Cuba were once independent from Spain, she would finally become an English colony or a state under French protection.

It seems to me clear that the real reasons for Mr. Clay's official communication against the independence of Cuba, in 1825 and 1826, were not so much those stated in his despatches as the

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fear that, if Cuba were once independent or annexed to Mexico or Colombia, slavery would be abolished in that island, a step which would have been in conflict with the policy of the United States, then governed by the slave power, which naturally supported slavery. The question of slavery was then at the bottom of every important move of the United States, foreign and domestic, and it colored or discolored all her important transactions. Perhaps the idea of acquiring sometime the island of Cuba was another reason which dictated Mr. Clay's action.

The question of the independence of Cuba was considered in the American Congress which met at Panama in 1826, and the idea of sending an armed expedition to liberate that island was abandoned on account of the opposition of the government of the United States, as appeared from a communication from Mr. Poinsett, United States Minister to Mexico, to Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, of September 23, 1826.*

The Panama Congress.—When Simon Bolivar proposed the assembling at Panama of a congress of the American nations to agree upon some continental policy, President John Quincy Adams laid before Congress, in his annual message of 1826, the question of the representation of the United States at that Congress. The coalition against the Adams administration, which ultimately became the Jacksonian party, made its first great fight on this measure. It called forth long debates and aroused great excitement in the House of Representatives, because it was not an ordinary mission, and seemed to have far greater importance than any question of foreign relations that had previously come under discussion. It was believed to be an attempt to make a confederation or league of all the American countries, and thus to a certain extent extinguish the individuality of the United States.

This discussion lasted from February 3 to April 21, 1826, when the Committee on Foreign Affairs reported a resolution declaring that it was expedient to appropriate the necessary funds to send representatives to the Panama Congress. This resolution was approved by a vote of 143 to 54, and passed the Senate by a vote of 24 to 19.

The United States delegates to the Panama Congress were instructed to attend the Congress in a merely diplomatic character, without discussing or accepting any proposition of alliance bind-

* American State Papers, Series of Foreign Relations, Page 361, Volume VI.

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ing the United States. These restrictions had been embodied in an amendment presented both in the House and Senate, which had passed the House, but was finally rejected, because it was considered an infringement upon the prerogatives of the Executive. As it expressed the views of Congress, however, its provisions were embodied in the instructions to the Commissioners.

I understand that one of the objects of that Congress was to accomplish the independence of the Island of Cuba, but the idea did not meet with the approval of the United States, and that fact prevented the Panamá Congress from arriving at any practical result.

Conclusion.—It is clear that the United States did not in any practical manner assist the American colonies of Spain to achieve their independence.

I hope that this statement of facts will serve to show that the Spanish colonies in America achieved their independence by their own efforts and without the aid of any foreign nation, and that if some of them expected such aid they never got it. I trust, also, that it will dispel some errors prevailing on that subject.

M. ROMERO.

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THE WARFARE OF SCIENCE WITH THEOLOGY.

BY THE REV. WALTON BATTERSHALL, D. D.

SOME time ago the late Mr. Huxley told us that "extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules." The recent death of the distinguished professor registered a notable loss to the science and literature of the day; and the theologians who still survive have no desire to weave into the wreath that they lay on his grave the Scotch thistle which not infrequently they found in his rhetoric. We quote his picturesque phrase chiefly because it is a sort of prophetic distillation of the contents of two large volumes recently published by the former President of Cornell University, now our ambassador at the court of Berlin, entitled *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.*

This book, not without reason, has been called a monumental work. Its author has won an eminent place in the educational world and the higher ranges of political life. A vigorous and acute mind, with an aptitude for history and with an exceptional outfit, has given us the result of the labor of many years devoted to the excavation of the famous and obscure battle-fields which figure in the annals of modern science. The exploring spade has been struck deep into the soil, and ancient weapons of quaint and curious fashion have been dug up and artistically arranged in an archæological museum, which invites and rewards the interest of the student.

Needless to say, this *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology* confirms the conviction which we all more or less entertain that the brilliant *mot* of Mr. Huxley holds a large pinch of truth.

The untimely fate of the extinguished theologians need give us no concern. A more important fact touching this *History*

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of the Warfare is the impression that probably will be left upon the mind of the reader that Science and Religion are natural foes, between whom war has been decreed from generation to generation, who lie off on the common of the world's thought in hostile camps, and whose inevitable and inveterate conflict of interest sooner or later breaks through whatever truce may be declared.

By explicit words the historian of the warfare deprecates this conclusion. He is at pains to tell us why, in contrast with Professor Draper's volume on *The Conflict Between Science and Religion*, he entitles his book *The Warfare of Science with Theology*. He informs us that the germ of the book was a lecture called "The Battlefields of Science," in which the following thesis was maintained:

"In all modern history, interference with science in the supposed interest of religion, no matter how conscientious such interference may have been, has resulted in the direst evil both to religion and to science, and invariably; and on the other hand, all untrammelled scientific investigation, no matter how dangerous to religion some of its stages may have seemed for the time to be, has invariably resulted in the highest good both of religion and of science."

An admirable statement of a profound truth, which we all recognize, and which forbids at once regrets for the past and trepidations for the future.

The distinguished author, moreover, betrays his good intent and his fashion of definition in this passage from his preface:

"My conviction is that science, though it has evidently conquered dogmatic theology based on Biblical texts and ancient modes of thought, will go hand in hand with Religion, and that, although theological control will continue to diminish, Religion, as seen in the recognition of 'a Power in the Universe not ourselves, which makes for righteousness,' and in the love of God and of our neighbor, will steadily grow stronger and stronger, not only in the American institutions of learning, but in the world at large. May the declaration of Micah as to the requirements of Jehovah, and the definition of St. James of 'pure religion and undefiled,' and, above all, the precepts and ideals of the Blessed Founder of Christianity Himself, be brought to bear more and more effectively on mankind."

It is far from our purpose to review the massive and valuable contribution to our current literature launched with this devout prayer, but the unwarrantable conclusions that may be gathered from the book, and the limitations of view disclosed in the last quotation, justify in our mind the statement of a few thoughts

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that cluster about the well-worn theme of the conflict between theology and science.

There is so much distrust and misconception in regard to both science and theology, so much ignorance of the precise scope, material and method of the two, such a widespread suspicion that at last theology has been driven from the field, or at least has deserted the lowlands of the controversy, and, like a savage tribe retiring before a more highly organized civilization, has taken refuge in the pathless forests and inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains, that any intelligible and reassuring word on the subject is not without value.

In the first place, what do we mean by the warfare between Theology and Science? Who, in fact, are the contestants?

A good deal of the acrimony and abuse that enter into the alleged warfare would be obviated if we could get rid of the illusion of personification. Science and Theology are not two historic champions who have gone down to Ephes-dammim with polemical intent, like the shepherd boy of Israel and the Philistine. The one, to speak roughly, is simply a group of facts, the other, a group of beliefs, that lie in different planes and atmospheres of thought; yet are held together by the complex needs and functions of our nature, and contribute to the common stock of our intellectual furniture. Every thinking man has his science and theology, not always perfectly adjusted, but still working no fissure in his mental integrity. Like the Vicar of Wakefield, who migrated from the blue bed to the brown, he is by turns a theologian and a scientist. When he consults his physician or overhauls his drains, he adopts the scientific interpretation of life. When he cries to God in some fierce pressure of sorrow or peril, he adopts the theological interpretation of life. Each has its claim, its sanction, its practical issue. The alleged conflict between theology and science is simply the dispute of men who exploit one method of interpretation to the discredit and exclusion of the other.

Still further to clear the air, let us proceed to definitions. What do we mean by the word "science" and the word "theology"?

It is a curious fact that each of these terms, in the popular use, has suffered both a restriction and an expansion of meaning. Theology, which was once the queen of sciences, is in these days

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denied admission to the secularized sisterhood. Science has come to mean simply physical science. Even metaphysics, which may be considered a cousin of theology, has been thrust outside the door, and has been sent out into the breezy open with a discredited reputation. The only science whose credentials are accepted is the science which brings returns from the physical universe. And those returns are not necessarily certified facts, which are placed beyond challenge, and which can be counted among the fixed and permanent furniture of our knowledge. They include explanations and hypotheses, which, unquestionably, are legitimate and valuable as working theories, but which are necessarily provisional, tentative, open to revision, and demand from their disciples, as the scientists themselves confess, large ventures of faith. It is evident, therefore, that the word "science," which means *knowledge* and which at the present day includes both proven facts and unproven theories, has undergone both a restriction and an expansion of meaning.

The same is true of theology. Literally it means the science of God. Of course, we can only think of God from the standpoint of human nature and within the limitations of human thought. The legitimate sphere of theology is God in His moral and spiritual relationship to man, and the circle of truths and duties which are involved in that relationship. In this restricted and scientific use of the word, theology is the basis of, if not identical with, religion; and the distinction between the two, which the late President of Cornell University has taken such pains to elucidate in his preface and several passages in his history, falls to the ground. In the passage quoted, he appears to give us a crayon sketch of religion after he has abstracted from it the obnoxious element of theology; but even in his attractive picture, we discern the theological bones underlying the contours and tints of the ethical flesh. At all events, if theology is simply the science of God, it has no concern with, and is beyond the reach of, the science which has taken for its province the physical universe. Between the two, there is no warfare, or possibility of warfare, simply because they lie in two diverse planes of thought and fact. St. Paul and Mr. Darwin are entitled each to his own point of view, and *The Epistle to the Romans,* published in the first century, has lost none of its interest or value since the publication of *Origin of Species* in the ninteenth century.

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But the word "theology," like the word "science," has suffered an expansion of meaning which has exposed it to an embroilment with physical science, and which, in a measure, excuses the, strictly speaking, unscientific title of Mr. White's *History of the Warfare*. In a loose, popular way, whatever a man, or a group of men, happens or chooses to think about religion is called "theology." The primitive creeds of the Church, the writings of the early Fathers, the decisions of the ecumenical councils, the expositions of the mediæval schoolmen, the *ex-cathedra* utterances of the popes, the modern confessions of faith, give, of course, a higher sanction to a specific theological opinion; but it is evident that a large percentage of theology, as commonly understood, has no claim on these eminent authorities. In this vague use of the word, the religious opinions of any respectable body of men in any period of the world's history, or the religious opinions of any man who chooses to utter his opinions from a platform or print them in a book, fairly may be called theology. And the opinions may travel long distances beyond the legitimate sphere of the divine science. They may make exhaustive excursions into the domains of astronomy, and geology, and biology; they may hang the fate of a religion upon the measurement of some human skull which survived the wreckage of the cave-period; yet they are to be considered theology, and under the alias of theology they are cited before the tribunals of science.

It is evident that Mr. White takes his "theology" in this large and generous interpretation. As we glance over his interesting pages, we find that it is not necessary to be a Bishop, or a believer in the Bible, or even an occasional attendant at the services of the church, in order to be a theologian. A surer title, a shorter and easier method, is to question some fact discovered or some theory projected by the progressive science of the period.

The point comes out in an amusing way in Mr. White's account of a *contretemps* in the literary ventures of Voltaire. We read:

"About the year 1760, news of the discovery of marine fossils in various elevated districts of Europe reached Voltaire. He, too, had a theologic system to support, though his system was opposed to that of the sacred books of the Hebrews; and, fearing that the new discoveries might be used to support the Mosaic accounts of the deluge, all his wisdom and wit were compacted into arguments to prove that the fossil fishes were the remains

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of fish intended for food, but spoiled and thrown away by travelers; that the fossil shells were accidentally dropped by crusaders and pilgrims returning from the Holy Land; and that the fossil bones found between Paris and Etampes were parts of a skeleton belonging to the cabinet of some ancient philosopher. Through chapter after chapter Voltaire, obeying the supposed interests of his theology, fought desperately the growing results of the geologic investigations of his time."*

We conclude that the theologians, in their manifold discomfitures, have been in high scientific and literary company. Naturally, Mr. White calls the episode comical. "It shows," he says, "that the attempt to shape the deductions of science to meet the exigencies of dogma may mislead heterodoxy as absurdly as orthodoxy." His statement of the matter illustrates the modern expansion of the word "theology." It enables us to trace the promiscuous lineage of the visored knight who is so frequently unhorsed and laid sprawling in the sand on the pages of the entertaining *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology.*

In this connection Mr. White will excuse us if we express the regret that by the title and argument of his book—making such large appeal by the interest of its theme—he has lent his distinguished authority to this loose and vulgar use of the word "theology." It is hanging a millstone about its neck, which is unnecessary in the present attitude of the popular mind, and is not exactly in the interests of scientific thought. It must be confessed, however, that the word "orthodoxy" is subjected to the same treatment. Indeed, it is rather curious to note the bizarre materials from which the historian extracts the light by which we may study the hideous features of orthodoxy. The sculptures over cathedral doors, the emblazoned pictures on the windows, the gargoyles on the towers, mediæval wood-cuts and banners, the mosaics of San Marco at Venice, the sounding verse of Milton, the pictorial phrases of modern hymnody, are all brought into court to prove the vicious character and habits of orthodoxy. They illustrate, we are told, the orthodox teachings about God and the universe, which modern science has demolished. Heaven save the mark! What a picturesque orthodoxy we should have to-day if we borrowed it from the artists and the poets instead of from our good friends the scientists! It is only fair to say that Mr. White does not spare quotations from distinguished and obscure names, which represent neither the artistic,

* "Hist. of Warfare," Vol. I., p. 229.

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nor the poetic, nor the scientific guild ; but we owe him thanks for his wide range of illustration which enables us to measure the amount of hay and sawdust within the sleek skin of the champion who has dared to cross lances in the arena with Science.

Such being the contestants, we hardly require two large volumes to give us the incidents of the conflict. From our knowledge of human nature, we could prognosticate fairly the general character of the incidents. Needless to say, the historian has given them with accuracy and frankness, and, despite the unfortunate and misleading use of terms which we have indicated, his care for truth and reverence for religion are conspicuous in his chronicle of the warfare. The exhaustless supplies of anecdotal history allure the reader over his eight hundred pages. The shifting scenes of the battle and the changing fronts of the armies in the field stimulate and sustain the interest. Unquestionably a highly passive and receptive reading of the volumes will leave the impression that the author has exhaustively proven his thesis : that theology has fought the advance of science step by step ; that it has discredited its methods, persecuted its champions, and has finished every battle by retiring from the field in disorder. But, if we mistake not, the judicious reader, whatever his concern for, or indifference to, theology, will modify this conclusion by the following considerations.

First. It is evident that the alleged conflict is simply a series of wayside-fights, involving points of no strategic importance and conducted chiefly by guerrilla forces. Indeed, the whole warfare is shamefully unofficial. Campaigns are begun and conducted with no formal declaration of war, and for the most part, accredited leaders on either side are conspicuously absent from the field. This, undoubtedly, accounts for the strange and notable circumstance that a short time after the issue of a battle has been decided, the discomfited army moves silently into the quarters of the victor and straightway forgets that there has been a battle.

As we read the *History of the Warfare* we are struck by this fact,—the theological oppositions to science proceed invariably from current interpretations of what are supposed to be scientific references in the Holy Scriptures. The references are unrelated to the supreme motive of the Bible and the authoritative dogmas of the Church, and it fairly can be said that in

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no century has the Church been responsible for the interpretations. The doctrines for which she is responsible she has enunciated in the great ecumenical creeds—the Apostles' and the Nicene. These creeds she recites as the defences and tests of her faith. Ecclesiastical schools of thought are answerable, of course, for their authorized confessions or statements of principles. Perhaps, in some minor points, these have been jeopardized by scientific discoveries and the expansions of modern thought; but by no authoritative act are the historic churches of Christendom committed to any theory of inspiration or method of interpretation which justifies the use of the Holy Scriptures as a barricade against the march of science. That certain phrases in the Bible have been interpreted by individuals in the Church to the disadvantage and hindrance of science is an unfortunate contribution to the history of human mistakes. The official doctrine of the Church is untouched by either the mistake or the correction.

Second. A review of the conflict furthermore discloses the fact that the forces are inextricably mixed and confused. On either side, we detect the banners and uniforms of the opposing camp. The thoroughness and frankness of Mr. White's recital furnish us with numerous instances where the exponents of science have opposed and the theologians espoused a new scientific fact or theory.

Three eminent names in the annals of science, Cuvier and Linnæus of the eighteenth century, and Agassiz in the present century, are on record as vigorous opponents of the theory of evolution. On the other hand, hints of the theory are found in the works of the three great theologians of the fourth century, St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Augustine, who writes in his treatise on Genesis: "To suppose that God formed man from the dust with bodily hands is very childish. God neither formed man with bodily hands, nor did he breathe upon him with throat and lips." The doctrine of development or derivative creation was substantially suggested by St. Isidore of Seville in the seventh century, by Peter Lombard in his Theological Summary, by St. Thomas Aquinas in his monumental work of mediæval theology, and by Augustinus Eugubinas, who tells us that "after the first creative energy had called forth land and water, light was made by the Almighty the instrument of all

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future creation" and that "the light called everything into existence." In 1678, Ralph Cudworth, "one of the greatest glories of the English Church," published his *Intellectual System of the Universe*, in which he argued vigorously in favor of the origin and maintenance of the universe as a slow and gradual development of nature in obedience to an inward principle.

In every age there have been princes and theologians of the Church who have welcomed the progress of science, and those who headed the advance were generally firm believers in the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. Great scholastic divines like Roger Bacon, Albert Ballstadt, and Vincent of Beauvais were pioneers in geography, chemistry, and natural history. A cardinal of the Church early in the fifteenth century published a geographical picture of the world, which was the text-book of Columbus, and is cited by Humboldt as the chief authority of the time. Copernicus was a canon of the Church of Frauenburg; and it is fair to suppose that Galileo had a higher concern than fear of the Inquisition when he wrote to the Archduchess Christina to prove that his discoveries could be reconciled to Holy Scripture.

Third. From the survey of these facts, we may deduce a corollary, which gives a significant element in, and a new meaning to, the "warfare." It is a conflict, not between theology and science, but between old tradition and new truth. It has its origin, not in anything peculiar to, or essentially related to, religion, but simply in the ignorance and obstinacy and inertia of the human mind in all ages. In every department of thought a new theory is a disturbance and an affront. It intrudes upon men's intellectual leisures. It breaks crystallized thought and dislocates mental habits. With the mass of people, a new fact, and especially a new theory, is an intellectual tramp who is unceremoniously turned from the door with an exhortation to work for his living. This is especially true in regard to theories which compel us to revise those interpretations and opinions, which, while not authorized by, are more or less associated with, our religion. The new theory has got to fight and turn out of doors the old theory before it can take its place. We think that it can be proved that, through all the Christian centuries, the theologians have generally adopted the science of their day. With the rest of the world, they may have hesitated and questioned and challenged, but in the

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end they have accepted from the scientists of the period their certified facts and even their plausible theories, and have adjusted thereto the current dogma, and interpretations of Holy Scripture. In the alleged conflict between theology and science, therefore, it was not so much theology, as the old science under a mask of theology, that fought the new science. The whimsical speculations of Voltaire regarding the fossils show how little Christianity had to do with the opposition that greeted the geological theories of his time. In the case of Galileo, the Church, it is true, seems to have worked a scientific scandal into its history. Popes, archbishops, and cardinals dallied and temporized with, but at last conspired to crush, the heliocentric theory, which Copernicus had projected and Galileo had proved. But the papal court was not the only culprit. Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin vied with the Church of Rome in denunciations of the new astronomy. The world of the day was committed to the Ptolemaic system, and, of course, interpreted the Bible in accordance with that system. Beyond question the Church was in fault, and jeopardized its reputation on a tender point. Still we cannot but think that Mr. White pushes it rather fiercely against the wall. At all events, the specific crime of the ecclesiastics seems to have been that they were not in scientific advance of the world, and went beyond argument in defence of the old astronomy. Perhaps it was the memory of the costly blunder of Popes Paul V. and Urban VIII. that suggested to Pius IX. his treatment of Mr. Mivart's book entitled *Genesis of Species*. Mr. Mivart himself contributes this significant bit of history. "My *Genesis of Species*," he says, "was published in 1870, and therein I did not hesitate to promulgate the idea that Adam's body might have arisen from a non-human animal, the rational soul being subsequently infused. Great was the outcry against such a view, but I forwarded my little book to the Supreme Pontiff, and thereupon Pius IX. benignantly granted me a Doctor's hat, which the late Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster bestowed on me at a public function."

This comforting incident gives us an easy transition to our fourth point, which enables us with gratitude and a quiet mind to pu upon our shelves the *History of the Warfare*. Through all the conflict, the so-called defeats have been the enlargements and enrichments of theology. Barring the use of the obnoxious word

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"theology," there are numerous passages in Mr. White's book which indicate that, in this conclusion, he and the Christian world are in substantial agreement. Speaking of the decay of the ancient belief that comets are signs in the heavens sent as tokens of Divine wrath, he says: "No catastrophe has ensued either to religion or morals." The same may be said of the decay of all the superstitious glosses with which even the learned of the unscientific ages read their Bibles. In some quarters, the idea prevails that Christianity on the whole has suffered, that her sacred records have been impugned, and her intellectual claims impaired by the fact that certain theories regarding the age and structure of the universe and certain deductions from Holy Scripture have been demolished by the hammers of science. On the contrary, these corrections of ancient mistakes have fallen easily and naturally within the accredited, historic lines of the Christian Faith, and the legitimate interpretation of salient passages of the inspired documents. The cry of Bellarmine and the bishops against Galileo that "his pretended discovery vitiated the whole Christian plan of salvation"; of John Wesley, that "giving up witchcraft is giving up the Bible"; of the fanatics of his day against Newton for "dethroning Providence" by his law of gravitation, have failed of verification. The Christian world has found enriched meanings in its Bible and its creeds by accepting the conclusions of science, in the spirit of that profound and devout word of Kepler: "I think the thoughts of God."

Cosmas, an Egyptian monk of the sixth century, lapsing from the teachings of the earlier theologians, Origen, St. Clement, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, touching the earth's sphericity, conceived the universe as an oblong box, after the fashion of the tabernacle in the wilderness, and this grotesque cosmography, as we may well believe, was abundantly supported by texts of Holy Scripture, and for several centuries was supposed to be the only orthodox theory. If we compare this with the nebular hypothesis of Laplace, which is generally accepted by intelligent theologians of to-day, can there be any question to which interpretation the first chapter of Genesis the more easily lends itself? If we compare the ancient and even now lingering idea of creation, which even St. Augustine repudiated, with the theory of the evolution of the species, of which the late Aubrey Moore—one of the

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most brilliant names that Oxford has given to the English Church—said: "It may fairly claim to be an established doctrine," and "an advance in our theological thinking,"—can we deny that the development theory has enriched our conceptions of God and life? In his Bampton lectures on "The Relations Between Religion and Science," Bishop Temple—enthroned the other day at Canterbury—tells us that whether in the case of special creation or evolution, "the creative power remains the same; the design with which that creative power was exercised remains the same. God did not make things, we may say; no, he made them make themselves; and surely this rather adds than withdraws force from the great argument. It seems in itself something more majestic, something more befitting Him to Whom 'a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years,' thus to impress His will once for all on His creation, and provide for all its countless variety by His one original impress, than by special acts of creation to be perpetually modifying what He had previously made."

In illustration of the present aspect of the warfare between theology and science, we recall the fact that the grave of Charles Robert Darwin was made next to the grave of Sir Isaac Newton in Westminster Abbey.

WALTON BATTERSHALL.

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THE QUEEN'S PARLIAMENTS.

BY H. W. LUCY (TOBY, M. P., OF "PUNCH").

PART II.

I AM sometimes asked whether, in reviewing personal experience extending over nearly a quarter of a century, I observe any deterioration in the tone and manner of the House of Commons. With the suffrage widely extended, the consequent admission of working members, and the large leavening of the aristocratic mass with the professional and trading classes, it is assumed that the standard of the House must have been lowered. How great has been the change in this last respect since the Queen came to the throne is witnessed by the testimony of Mr. Gladstone, who calculates that there were not five members of the Conservative party of 1835 who sat in the House of Commons by reason of their connection with trade or industry. Is the House of Commons better or worse for the revolution in this respect that has taken place during the more than sixty years of the Queen's reign?

My humble opinion is that, on the whole, the sitting House of Commons, the latest product of almost manhood suffrage, is the best mannered I have known. In this respect it even runs the risk of being described as dull. But that is not a criticism to be safely adventured, as was shown by its predecessor, in the main equally well mannered, which one July night suddenly flared up in fierce free fight in presence of the shocked mace and the paralyzed Chairman of Committees. There are profound possibilities latent in any House of Commons. It is as uncertain as the sea, one moment a waste of placid smiling water, the next lashed into fury by a cyclone.

It is no new thing to hear the House of Commons of the day

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denounced as worse by comparison with those that have preceded it. There may have been great men before Agamemnon. The tendency of mankind is to affect belief that there have been none since. "Where will you see another Canning?" Disraeli exclaimed in the House of Commons on the 12th of June, 1846, in the course of adjourned debate on the Coercion bill. (There were Coercion bills even in those good old days.) "Where will you see another Canning, a man who ruled this House as a high bred steed? The temper of the House is not now as spirited as as it was then, and I am not surprised that the vulture rules where once the eagle reigned."

Mr. Smollett—not the historian and novelist, but his great-grandnephew—speaking of the House of Commons of 1874–80 scornfully dismissed it as "an assembly of soap boilers." Why "soap boilers," did not appear from the context. Mr. Smollett's vituperation, though ready, was vague. But the meaning of the remark is clear—that, as compared with other Parliaments, the House in which Mr. Smollett sat as Member for Cambridge showed a woeful falling off.

Such line of assertion is common to a large class of humanity. In lauding times that are no more, we seem, in some subtle fashion, to enjoy the satisfaction of personally associating ourselves with them, dissevering ourselves from the degeneracy we lament. The episode in the Parliamentary career of Mr. Biggar just related, the all-night sittings, the wholesale suspension of Irish members, the long series of Bradlaugh scenes, and the free fight on the floor of the House which disgraced the session of 1893, appear to establish the charge of degeneracy. But it would be easy to parallel each one of these incidents by passages taken from daily records of the good old times.

Here is a scene, reported by the graphic pen of Macaulay, which in all attributes of rowdyism need not shirk comparison with the modern free fight. It is entered in his diary under date Thursday, June 11, 1840:

"I went from the office to the House, which was engaged upon Stanley's Irish Registration bill. The night was very stormy. I have never seen such unseemly demeanor, or heard such scurrilous language in Parliament. Lord Norreys was whistling and making all sorts of noises. Lord Maidstone was so ill-mannered that I hope he was drunk. At last, after much grossly indecent conduct, at which Lord Eliot expressed

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his disgust to me, a furious outbreak took place. O'Connell was so rudely interrupted that he used the expression 'beastly bellowings.' Then rose such an uproar as no O. P. mob at Covent Garden Theatre, no crowd of Chartists in front of a hustings, ever equalled. Members on both sides stood up, shook their fists, and bawled at the top of their voices. Freshfield, who was in the chair, was strangely out of his element. Indeed, he knew his business so little that, when first he had to put a question, he fancied himself at Exeter Hall, or the Crown and Anchor, and said: 'As many as are of that opinion please to signify the same by holding up their hands.' He was quite unable to keep the smallest order when the storm came. O'Connell raged like a mad bull; and our people—I for one—while regretting and condemning the violence, thought it much extenuated by the provocation. A short and most amusing scene passed between O'Connell and Lord Maidstone, which in the tumult escaped the observation of many, but which I watched carefully. 'If,' said Lord Maidstone, 'the word beastly is retracted I shall be satisfied. If not I shall not be satisfied.'

"'I do not care whether the noble Lord be satisfied or not,' said O'Connell.

"'I wish you would give me satisfaction,' pleaded Maidstone.

"'I advise the noble Lord to carry his liquor meekly,' answered O'Connell.

"At last the tumult ended from absolute physical weariness. It was past one, and the steady bellowers of the opposition had been howling from six o'clock with little interruption."

In respect to the Bradlaugh business, which made memorable the session of 1880, there will be found in Hansard, of twenty-nine years earlier, record of an analogous case accompanied by scenes curiously similar. In 1851, Mr. Salomons, elected for Greenwich, presented himself at the table to take the oath. He was a Jew, and, naturally, declined to repeat the words "upon the true faith of a Christian," then included in the oath of allegiance. He was ordered to withdraw, just as Sir Henry Brand, twenty-nine years later, ordered Mr. Bradlaugh to retire. Mr. Salomons, instead of obeying the order, took his seat—just as Mr. Bradlaugh did—and, just as in 1880 a section of members cheered Mr. Bradlaugh whilst the majority yelled and howled, so on this July day, dead now nearly half a century, a tempest of shouting and cheering filled the House, whilst the unsworn member for Greenwich remained seated.

The last stage of degradation seemed reached when in 1877 all-night sittings set in. They were spoken of as a new and more iniquitous development of obstruction. But during the reform debate of 1831 obstruction, at least on one occasion, reached the stage of an all-night sitting. From four o'clock on

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a Tuesday afternoon till half-past seven on a Wednesday morning the House divided on the alternative motions "that the Speaker do now leave the chair," and that "this House do now adjourn." Sir Charles Wetherell, a member free from the taint of trade, was the hero of the occasion.

It is reported that his exultation at having resisted reform all through a summer night was tempered on leaving the House by the discovery that it was raining. "If I had known this," he said with an oath, pulling up his trousers to meet his waistcoat, "they should have had a few more divisions."

In illustration of the personal manners of those lamented days it may be mentioned that this fine old English gentlemen had a stubborn objection to wearing braces. The consequence was that when he addressed the House, in loud voice and with excited gestures, there became visible a broadening interval of white showing between his waistcoat and his trousers. Some one mentioning this to the Speaker, the right honorable gentleman quietly remarked, "Yes, that's Wetherell's only lucid interval."

In the matter of ordinary attire the House of Commons, following the trend of fashion, is much less punctiliously dressed than it was when the Queen opened the first session of her earliest Parliament. At that time there still lingered the decorous fashion of the high coat collar, the stock carried up to the chin, the trousers cut tight to the leg, and drawn over the boot by a strap. I have a precious print which shows the House of Commons in the session of 1821. The members are seated in the old House, dimly lighted by candelabra pendent from the roof. It is the most appallingly respectable assembly I ever set eyes upon.

I showed the print one day to a well-known member of the House of Commons. "How decorously dull!" he exclaimed, regarding the scene with quick interest. "How monotonously respectable! There does not seem to be a single Irish member among them; nor"—he added, running his eye again over the crowded benches—"nor even a lawyer."

He is, I may add, himself one of the ablest counsel at the bar.

One peculiarity, brought out by contrast with another view of the House in session more than half a century later, marks the radical change wrought in the British face in connection with the razor. In the unreformed Parliament members

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are, for the most part, clean shaven. The only variation permitted is a little strip of whisker coming down the side of either cheek to the level of the nostril. In the 1874 Parliament, of which Mr. Sargent made a successful picture in its second session, there appear on the crowded benches only two bare faces. One is that of the late Mr. Fawcett, seated in his once familiar place on the front bench by the Sergeant-at-Arms' chair. The other is Mr. Hanbury, who even at this day, when he has risen to the ministerial rank, has not succeeded in cultivating either mustache or whisker. For the rest, members of the Parliament which first saw Disraeli in power as well as in office are both whiskered and mustached.

Recalling the appearance of the present House on a crowded night, one notes the further change of fashion established in the twenty-three years that separate it from the general election of 1874. More members than ever sport the mustache, while many, especially those advancing in years, dispense with whiskers, which perhaps have a tendency to invest even the young with a middle-aged appearance.

Up to the 1874 Parliament, in which many things were changed, the use of the tall hat while in attendance on the House was imperative. A Member had fair range of liberty in respect of dress generally, but he must sport a "topper." Mr. Joseph Cowen was the first man who brought the billycock hat within the sacred precincts of Westminster. But he did not flout it in the face of the Speaker. He cautiously removed it before entering the House, secreting it about his person till he withdrew. An Irish Member, Mr. John Martin, was the second adventurer on this pathway. He, one night being seated in his place, disturbed the brazen composure of the mace by covering his head with an uncompromising stiff "bowler." It was understood at the time that the Speaker privately communicated with him, gently but firmly remonstrating against the breach of decorum. However it be, Mr. Martin, though he stuck to his hat, never again wore it in the House.

A working-man member who has held office under the Crown happily compromises the difficulty. Unaccustomed to a top hat except on Sundays, occasions of christenings and the like, he could not bring himself to wear one on daily repairing to Westminster. He accordingly keeps a fine silk hat in his locker.

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Arriving at the House, crowned with the meek dignity of a billy-cock, he goes straight to his locker and changes his head gear, returning his top hat to its resting place when he answers to the cry, "Who goes home?" At this day such elaborate observance seems almost pedantic. Bowlers and billy-cocks, hard and soft, are common objects in a crowded House. Worse still, straw hats have been worn under the eyes of the Speaker. Easy is the descent to Avernus. Shortly after the first straw hat glistened under the gaslit roof of the House of Commons cummerbunds set in, and legislators unrestrained by waistcoats wrestled with the gravest political problems of the day.

The dull respectability of the present House of Commons hinted at earlier is a condition of things largely due to the change in the personnel of the Irish members. After the election of 1874 they flooded Westminster with rich and rare individuality of the kind hitherto familiar to the Saxon chiefly in the novels of Lever and Lover. This type has disappeared from the present House. Perhaps the only Irish Member who to-day habitually rises into flights of humor is Mr. Tim Healy.

Among those who delighted the Parliament of 1874–80 was Mr. Delahunty, Member for Waterford City. His panacea for all the woes of Ireland had something to do with one-pound notes. I am ashamed to say, though I have often heard him discourse on the topic, there does not dwell in my mind a clear impression as to whether he desired to have one-pound notes authorized or whether he would have had them abolished. However that be, the peace and prosperity of Ireland were, according to his view, wrapped up in the one-pound note.

One Wednesday afternoon in the Session of 1878, the fortune of the ballot gave Mr. Delahunty an opportunity of dealing with this burning question. He had brought with him a small black bag, in which, according to the testimony of his compatriots, he had been accustomed to store the depositions taken before him as Coroner of the City and County of Waterford. Now, it was primarily requisitioned for holding the convincing notes of his oration. It is presumable that he had promised himself, when his task was completed, a few hours relaxation in one of the inner circles of London Society. In view of this arrangement of his evening he had, after filling his bag up to the top with manuscript notes, found just room enough to put in a comb, brush,

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and a few other toilet necessaries. Hauling out a handful of papers from the bag, and finding them not exactly what he wanted, he turned around and, amid an awful silence, deliberately resumed the search. Of course, the first things that came to hand were the comb and brush.

Hastily thrusting them back among the documents he made another start with his speech. But the fresh batch of papers also led to nowhere in particular. Coming to a break in his argument he turned once more to the bag, fearfully conscious of the presence of the comb and brush. With increased deliberation he rooted round, and finally, under the impression that he had at last seized the papers he sought, he produced a pair of gray worsted stockings. These approached the Irish question from a quite unexpected avenue. The House roared with laughter. Mr. Delahunty, still failing in his endeavor to come across the missing note, took the miscellaneous articles out of the bag, spread them on the bench, and with his back turned to the Speaker prosecuted his search. When at last he found the desired sheet of paper he went on as if nothing had happened, the House listening with high good humor to a story that had neither beginning, middle, nor end, through which the comb and brush came and went, as Harlequin and Columbine purposelessly flit across the stage in the intervals of pantomine business.

Among other oddities who occur to the memory, emerging out of the now distant past, was Mr. Tom Connelly, who sat on the Conservative benches and stirred up his compatriots on the opposite side with the long pole of scornful insinuation or vitriolic vituperation. There was Mr. McCarthy Downing, faithful to the last to his old leader, Isaac Butt, growing nearer and nearer in facial resemblance to a plucked jackdaw, as Butt's fortunes faded and he found himself thrust aside by the more strenuous Parnell. There was Mr. Ronayne, one of the wittiest of Irishmen. There was Frank Hugh O'Donnell, with his pleasing habit of presenting himself after a big debate had been closed by the leaders on both sides, and insisting on continuing it indefinitely. There was Dr. O'Leary, a magniloquent monocule. He was the member Dizzy won over to vote with the government on a critical division by placing his hands on his shoulder and telling him with a sigh how in personal appearance he reminded him of his old friend Tom Moore. There was Captain Stackpool, with his

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hands in his pockets and his reminiscences of Lord Palmerston. "Ah," he was accustomed to say sadly, shaking his head at recurrent difficulties, "things wouldn't be like this if old Pam was here!"

Biggest, best of all, there was Major O'Gorman. The Major was a man of great height and stupendous girth. His voice, when uplifted in oratorical effort, was like a peal of thunder. These personal peculiarities lent irresistible charm to a passage in his speech, delivered soon after he took his seat, on Mr. Newdigate's annual resolution affecting conventual institutions. The Major had prepared for the purposes of his argument a dramatic conversation between a high-born Mother Superior of a convent and one of the inspectors proposed to be constituted under Mr. Newdigate's bill. When the Major, with fine mimetic art, recited the nun's part of the conversation, put on a mincing manner and assumed soft speech appropriate to the character, the House went into a fit of laughter which prevented the conclusion of the dialogue being heard. After this speech, and up to his withdrawal from the scene, the Major was a prime favorite in the House of Commons, members crowding in to hear him as if word had gone round that Gladstone or Disraeli was up.

When Dr. Kenealy moved for a Royal Commission to enquire into the conduct of the judges in the Tichborne case, the figures were, against the motion 433, in its favor one. The Major was the minority. When asked why he should have parted from his friends on such an issue, he explained that it was a warm evening, he knew the "No" lobby would be crowded, so he thought he would stroll through the other one. The Major's humor was best when it was unconscious. But he had a ready wit, as was shown in his correspondence with an importunate constituent, who urged him to obtain for him a local postmastership. The Major declined, on the ground that he would never stoop to accept a favor from a Saxon government. The man persisted, concluding a third letter with the remark: "Shure, Major, ye've only to write a line and the thing would be done."

The Major thereupon replied: "Sir, I am in receipt of your letter of the fifth inst., in which you state I have 'only to write a line' in order that you should obtain the appointment you desire. I have, therefore, much pleasure in hereby appointing you Postmaster of Ballymahooly. I am, sir, your obedient servant, Purcell O'Gorman."

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Another type of the now extinct Irish member was The O'Gorman Mahon. He was, when he came back to the House, returned for County Clare in 1879, one of the few living members who had sat in the unreformed Parliament. He was again member from 1847 to 1852, returning to the old scene after an interval of 27 years. In the meanwhile he had seen fighting both by land and sea. On one occasion, offended by a Conservative member opposite whom he suspected of sniggering at an Irish Nationalist member on his feet at the moment, The O'Gorman Mahon crossed the floor, handed his "cyard" to the offender, and went into the lobby ready to complete the preliminaries of a challenge.

So recently as 1884 Sir Patrick O'Brien, another richly endowed Irish member, went even further than that in the arrangements for a duel. In debate on a local Dublin bill Sir Pat, it being two o'clock in the morning, got a little mixed as to whether it was Mr. Wm. O'Brien or Mr. Harrington who had interrupted his observations with what he described as "a guffaw." At first he leaned towards conviction that it was Mr. Harrington, of whom he incidentally remarked that "the honorable member was carrying parcels for a wage of three and sixpence a week when I represented King's County in Parliament." After staring with blood-shot eye for some time at the little band of Parnellites opposite, Sir Pat accidentally got Mr. William O'Brien in focus, and convinced himself that it was he who was the offender. Several times, leaning forward, putting his hand to his mouth, he inquired across the House, in a stage whisper, whether Mr. O'Brien was "afraid"? No notice being taken, Sir Pat hurriedly left the House, looked up The O'Gorman Mahon, engaged him as a second, and, returning, informed Mr. O'Brien that everything was settled. All he had to do was to put his man in communication with the ancient warrior. Sir Pat waited in the lobby for an hour. Mr. O'Brien made no sign, and in the cooler atmosphere of the following day the bloodthirsty enterprise was abandoned.

There was in those days a serious-mannered Irish member named Blake (not to be confounded with the ex-Premier of Canada, sitting member for South Longford), who is remembered for a brief correspondence he read to the delighted House. It was introduced in a speech delivered in debate on the Irish Sunday Closing Bill. Mr. Blake had, he confidentially informed the

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House, an uncle who regularly took six tumblers of whiskey toddy daily. This troubled him, and after much thought he resolved to write and remonstrate with his relative. The following was the letter :

"MY DEAR UNCLE : I write to say how pleased I should be if you could see your way to giving up your six glasses of whiskey a day. I am sure you would find many advantages in doing so, the greatest of which would be that, as I am persuaded, it would be the means of lengthening your days."

The Uncle replied :

"MY DEAR NEPHEW : I am much obliged to you for your dutiful letter. I was so much struck by what you said, and, in particular, by your kind wish to lengthen my days, that last Friday I gave up the whiskey. I believe you are right, my boy, as to my days being lengthened, for, bedad ! it was the longest day I ever remember."

Another hero of Coercion days, now forgotten by the multitude, was Mr. Pyne, member for West Waterford. In the winter of 1887 a warrant for his arrest was issued under the Crimes Act. Mr. Pyne, who farmed a large property in Waterford belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, shut himself up in his Irish home, Lisfarney Castle. He had the trenches filled with water, the drawbridge up, took in supplies by a window in the battlements and thus lived for months, occasionally indulging in friendly conversation with the police wandering about below with the warrant for his arrest in their pockets. He came to town for the opening of the session of 1888 and was arrested as he passed down the steps at Westminster Bridge to enter Palace Yard.

The originality of his mind was further indicated upon his watch. On its dial he had roughly engraved the legend: "Pay no rent." Whenever in troubled times any of his neighbors came to him for advice as to what they should do in presence of a demand for rent, Mr. Pyne solemnly shook his head. "I cannot," he said, "express my views on the subject, for Mr. Balfour says they are illegal. But I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll show you what time of day it is," and, holding out his watch, the perturbed tenant read upon it the admonitory legend, "Pay no rent."

This was the comic side of Mr. Pyne's Parliamentary and political career. Tragedy swooped down just two years after his arrest in Palace Yard. Sailing from Holyhead on a return visit to Ireland the member for Waterford was nowhere to be found

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when the vessel reached Kingstown. In the darkness of the night he had fallen or been swept overboard, and like ships posted up at Lloyds has never since been heard of.

A contributory reason to the disappearance from the Parliamentary scene of the Irish member of whom I have rapidly sketched a few types, is the improved machinery of public business. In the days when these heroes flourished the House of Commons was absolutely at the command of a single member. The less he was bound by the trammels of decent debate, the more abject was the submission of the House. The extremes to which obstruction was carried in the ten years following on 1875 drove the House, most unwilling to move in this direction, to reform its ancient standing orders. The adoption of the closure, violently resented as an infringement of the privilege of free speech, has done much to vindicate the freedom of the House from the tyranny of the individual. Another reform that by minimizing the recurrence of late sittings struck at the root of possible disorder, was the adoption of the rule whereby business is automatically interrupted at the stroke of midnight. That, while seeming to limit opportunity for accomplishing work, has actually increased it.

The invention of grand committees is another modern innovation whose usefulness in furthering public business is sorely handicapped by the tendency of members to insist, when a bill comes before the House on the report stage, upon debating over again the questions thrashed out in grand committee. Nevertheless, grand committees materially contribute to the furtherance of work achieved throughout a session. The pressure of that work has vastly increased since the Queen first took her place on the Throne in the House of Lords. It is ever increasing, and can be grappled with to-day only by the adoption of a scheme of double shifts, patriotic members, slaving through daytime in select committees or grand committees, coming up more or less fresh in the late afternoon to begin a new task with the Speaker in the chair.

I have not attempted in the limits of opportunity at my disposal to trace the course of the great political questions that have been dealt with in the Parliaments that have succeeded each other during the last sixty years. I have been content with the lighter task of touching upon episodes and characters, small things

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which go to make up the great entity. Not to be compressed within the borders of a magazine article is the history of a succession of Parliaments which established penny postage, repealed the Corn Laws, brought India under the direct rule of the Crown, removed disabilities from Jews and Nonconformists, wrote off the paper duty, delivered newspapers from the thraldrom of the stamp, established the era of commercial treaties with foreign countries, carried a succession of Reform acts, established Post Office savings banks, nourished railways, girdled the earth with electric cables, freed the Irish land, disestablished an alien church, abolished purchase in the army, gave the children free education, and bestowed upon their fathers the boon of the ballot.

Thus have the Queen's Parliaments fulfilled the mission assigned to them nearly fifty years ago by Alfred Tennyson. They have known the season when to take

> "Occasion by the hand, and make
> The bounds of freedom wider yet
>
> By shaping some august decree,
> Which kept her throne unshaken still,
> Broad-based upon her people's will,
> And compassed by the inviolate sea."

H. W. LUCY.

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THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE.

BY THE HON. J. B. EUSTIS, LATE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE.

MANY very able publicists take a pessimistic view of the present situation of France, maintaining that she is fast reaching the plane of a second-class power, notwithstanding the apparent rank that the Franco-Russian alliance permits her to take in the councils of Europe. Some attribute this imminent retrogression to the results of the crushing defeats she suffered in 1870, which have caused a new grouping of states in Central Europe, represented by the Triple Alliance, by which she has been displaced from her orbit. Others maintain that she is exhibiting symptoms of inherent national degeneracy, not the least alarming being the comparative decrease of her population. A third class maintain that to the egregious errors and follies of those who are entrusted with the responsibility of governing France are to be traced the diminution of her prestige and the threatened loss of her authority as a first-class European power.

Whatever may be the cause, one cannot but sympathize with this proud-spirited nation. If the time is soon to arrive for France to descend from her high position and take rank with second-class powers, it will date the triumph of militarism over liberalism; and then civilization, humanity, and every department of learning will seriously feel the withdrawal of her preponderating influence upon the intellectual world and the political situation in Europe.

It must be admitted that the present situation of France is causing the gravest apprehension, and a deep-seated distrust as to her future destiny. Outside of the group of men who are today governing France, and who, of course, imagine they are upholding her proudest traditions and leading her to greater glory,

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the sentiment in France is well-nigh universal that unless the present situation is changed she will become the victim of some great catastrophe which will imperil her national existence.

This sense of insecurity arises from a gradual reaction against the Franco-Russian alliance. What this alliance really is, the public does not seem to know. The most searching inquiry has failed to discover whether it exists by virtue of a treaty or convention, and what are its stipulations and engagements. The suspicion is growing in the French mind that this alliance is unilateral as regards immediate benefits or future compensations; that it has enabled Russia to establish over France a disguised protectorate; that the latter has surrendered her independence of action as a sovereign state, her foreign relations being controlled by the dictation of Russian interests.

This humiliating sacrifice which France, for the first time in her history, has been called upon to make could be endured by that proud nation if she could discover in this alliance a guarantee that Russia intended to aid her to gratify the aspirations that her national honor and military pride would never permit her to abandon.

After the French people had recovered from their pardonable enthusiasm over what was called the Franco-Russian Alliance, having been led by their government to believe that it meant something besides their humiliation, an important event occurred which partially unveiled its mysteries. China and Japan had signed their treaty of peace on April 19, 1895. Russia stepped forward, and in menacing tones told Japan, the victorious party, that she must tear that treaty to pieces, because Russia objected to it. Russia dragged France into this complication, in which she had not the remotest interest. She made France take the side of Chinese barbarism against friendly Japan, which by her treaties was entering into the family of civilized states. What was far worse, if Japan had resisted the demands of Russia, France might have been forced to fight side by side with Germany against a power which had not given her the slightest provocation.

It was indeed pitiable to hear the Minister of Foreign Affairs declare to the Chamber, when interpellated upon this question, that his only excuse for placing France in this indefensible attitude was that he wanted to be agreeable to Russia.

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It was after this incident, which came near exposing France to an humiliation to which she would never have submitted, that the French Ministry deemed it necessary to pacify any possible agitation about the Franco-Russian alliance by holding out the expectation that Russia would aid France to reopen the Egyptian question and force England to evacuate Egypt.

In that case, the Franco-Russian alliance would certainly have signified a great deal; but this question was raised by the French Ministry only to be buried as often as it was raised, and for a very good reason. Russia never seriously intended to aid France with reference to this Egyptian question. She seems to have considered that she was bestowing upon France sufficient proofs of her friendship by flooding her immense loans upon the French market, and by sending her naval officers and her Czar to be fêted in her brilliant capital. An inquiry was addressed by the writer to an English diplomatist, whose authority upon Egyptian affairs is not to be questioned, to ascertain what efforts the French government had made to secure the co-operation of Russia to force England to abandon her military occupation of Egypt. He replied that only once had such an effort been attempted. One day Sir N. O'Conor, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg had called upon Prince Lobanoff, then the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. To the amazement of the former the latter opened the conversation with a most vehement tirade against England with reference to the Egyptian question. The violence of his language astounded the English Ambassador. The latter retired, and the next day again called upon Prince Lobanoff. He informed him that he had prepared an exact report of the extraordinary interview of the previous day, but that before sending it to his government he desired to know if Prince Lobanoff adhered to the views he had expressed. As the English Ambassador expected, Prince Lobanoff implored him not to send to his government any report whatever of their conversation, and thus the matter ended. It would seem to have been nothing but a blind to satisfy the susceptibilities of the French Foreign Office. At any rate this is the kind of reciprocity Russia offered to France for her aid with regard to the China-Japan Treaty.

M. Millerand, a leader in the Chamber of Deputies, is one of the ablest men in France. As a parliamentary debater he has

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no superior. When the events in the East began to impose upon the European powers the greatest responsibilities, he delivered a most remarkable speech. Without expecting that any state secret would be divulged he said that his object was to ascertain what reciprocal obligations France and Russia had assumed by reason of the Franco-Russian Alliance, as France might be drifting toward a point of serious danger, intimating that the interests, traditions, and dignity of France might be seriously affected by blindly following the dictation of Russian policy upon the Eastern question. It was a speech of extreme moderation, which attracted great attention.

M. Hanotaux's only reply was that the French Chamber must be satisfied with the toasts that had been exchanged between President Faure and the Czar, to which he had nothing to add. This declaration produced a most painful impression upon the French people. They understood that complimentary toasts might be pleasing to the personal vanity of those who exchanged them, but for a Minister of Foreign Affairs to tell the great intelligent and patriotic French nation that its fortunes and destinies were to be disposed of by toasts could hardly be accepted by them as a reassuring declaration as to the fate of their country.

If France had had a Talleyrand or a Thiers during the crisis in Turkey she could have played a leading rôle and by the weight of her influence and authority could have re-established her traditional prestige, not only in the Orient, but in Europe. Such an opportunity an able statesman would have grasped to prove that France was still a great power, ready, as in the past, to champion the cause of civilization, of oppressed nationalities and of religious toleration. She occupied the privileged position of disinterestedness as regards Turkish territory, and upon her the European powers had imposed by treaty the protection and patronage of the Catholic Armenian church. For these reasons she could have spoken with greater moral force than any other European power. Supported by the sentiments of the civilized world, by her traditions, and by the voice of Christianity within her own borders, she could have forced the bloodthirsty Sultan to kneel before an indignant and horrified Europe.

Such an attitude would have involved no peril to France, for Italy and Austria had promptly accepted Lord Salisbury's prop-

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osition of the 20th of October, 1896, to notify Abdul-Hamid that the European powers would use force to compel him to execute the reforms demanded.

But there was all the time a serious obstacle which was advantageous to Russian policy, but which was most discreditable to the French government. When Prince Lobanoff visited France, ostensibly for his health, he and M. Hanotaux secretly arranged the policy to be followed by their respective governments in dealing with the Eastern question. That programme, which was adhered to with cruel obstinacy, was practically a notification to the "Sultan Rouge" that he could continue his massacres with impunity because he and his Ottoman Empire would not be disturbed. In what way could the French government have given the Turkish government greater encouragement except by congratulating him upon his bloody work?

One can readily give credence to the story related in diplomatic circles that the Sultan never even smiles; but after he had ascertained the position of the Russian and French governments, if any one spoke to him of reforms he would burst out into a peal of laughter. This was the only topic that could excite the risibility of that sombre, atrabilious and sanguinary fanatic.

Contrary to the advice of M. Cambon, its firm, able and far-seeing Ambassador at Constantinople, in opposition to his most earnest remonstrances, the French government continued to place implicit confidence in the repeated promises of the Sultan when M. Cambon had warned M. Hanotaux in an official dispatch not to believe a single word of Munir-Bey, the Turkish Ambassador at Paris, or of the Sultan, because the latter did not intend to keep a single one of his promises.

Upon what theory is to be explained this perfect accord of the French and Russian governments with reference to this Turkish question? Which one of these two governments was the controlling authority in securing this solidarity of diplomatic action? Whose interests were to be subserved by this joint policy of abstention from even any pressure upon the Sultan?

It is not difficult to understand the far-reaching policy and aims of Russia as regards Turkey.

After two wars her ambitious schemes have been foiled by the action of the European powers. Notwithstanding her immense

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sacrifices of men and money, Russia became powerless to secure her domination over the Ottoman Empire. Therefore she had to change her tactics without changing her traditional policy, and that was to maintain the *status quo* so that by mal-administration and by massacres the Ottoman Empire would reach a state of decomposition and consequent dismemberment. To quote the expression of an eminent diplomatist, "*Il faut laisser la Turquie pourrir dans son jus.*" "Turkey must be allowed to rot in her own juice," was the new watchword of Russian diplomacy in dealing with the Turkish question.

On December 21, 1895, M. Montebello, the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, stated in a dispatch to his government: "Prince Lobanoff is now, as he has always been, of opinion that pressure cannot, on every occasion, be exerted on the Sultan for all incidents which may still arise in Armenia."

Mr. Gosselin, the British Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, writes in a dispatch to Lord Salisbury: "Both the German Ambassador and the Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires, whom I have seen since the debate, are of opinion that the French government will with difficulty be brought to assent to a policy of coercion," and this opinion would seem to be borne out by the passage of M. Hanotaux's speech in which His Excellency distinctly repudiates any *immixtion directe*, or anything in the shape of a *condominium*.

Other dispatches could be quoted to the same effect, but these sufficiently indicate the complete *entente* between the foreign office at St. Petersburg and that in Paris, and the persistency with which they adhered to the doctrine of non-intervention. It was not intended that these "incidents" should be allowed to disturb the equanimity of the French and Russian governments, or that the Sultan should have reason to fear coercion from the other powers, so long as Russia guaranteed him against any "pressure" and France against any *immixtion directe*.

One can easily appreciate the pathetic force of M. Denis Cochim's appeal in the Chamber to the French government:

"The friendship of France entails corresponding duties, the first and most sacred being to know how to defend the weak and take the part of the oppressed, and to make sacrifices on behalf of justice and liberty. Such is the price of the friendship of France; pray explain it, M. le Ministre, to our friends."

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It was only when, to the amazement of the European powers, the Sultan stated his terms of peace that the French government seemed to realize that its excessive Turkophilism, fostered by Russian influence and Russian interests, had made the Sultan master of the situation.

It has not been the purpose of the writer to discuss the Eastern question. It has been used only to illustrate one single phase of the Franco-Russian alliance. Nor has it been his purpose to criticise the French people for having favored this alliance, whatever it may be.

In the face of the Triple Alliance, France had one of two courses open, either to be self-reliant and independent, falling back upon her own resources to brave every peril, and prepare for a supreme and heroic effort to defend her territory and maintain her national existence, or to seek to make an alliance with Russia, the only power accessible to her. No nation could be called upon to decide a more momentous question.

Exhausted by a disastrous war and agitated by a fratricidal strife, it was natural that the French people should yearn for a peace that promised to them public security and exemption from that wearying and terrible anxiety which is the fate of a power situated like France. One who has witnessed the gradual development of that sentiment in favor of the Franco-Russian alliance should be the last person to criticise the French people for having sought self-preservation in that only refuge within their reach. When Thiers returned from the European capitals which he had visited to secure the friendly aid of some foreign powers to mitigate the harsh terms of the treaty of peace between Germany and France, and announced to the French people that his appeals for sympathy had been unavailing, he revealed the fact that France was a completely isolated power, and from that time until the period of the Franco-Russian alliance the situation of France has been extremely perilous and the public anxiety has been intense. But this alliance has its dangers and its complications. A liberal enlightened European power like France cannot make an alliance with autocratic Russia, a semi-Asiatic nation, without sacrifices which may affect prejudicially her interests and national dignity.

There can be no affinity of sentiment, no community of ideas, no sympathetic tie, no political solidarity, between France and Rus-

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sia. The former has free institutions; in the latter personal and political liberty, public opinion, freedom of the press, and parliamentary responsibility are utterly unknown. Yet, if the men who govern France had been far-seeing statesmen, such an alliance could have been utilized to increase the grandeur, the prestige, and the power of France. The apprehension exists that her national virility is being gradually extinguished by an unnecessary subserviency to Russian authority and Russian political interests. France has confronted many serious crises and she has always been saved by her great statesmen. She is to-day able to produce them, and if to the great loss of civilization, humanity, and the enlightenment of the world it should become her fate to be relegated to the position of a second-class power, her humiliation and degradation will not be ascribable to the degeneracy of her people, but to the incompetence of those who are entrusted with her fortunes and her destiny.

J. B. EUSTIS.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

LYNCH EPIDEMICS.

A FEW years ago a French writer surprised his readers with the assertion that in Southern Florida hundreds of persons were annually prostrated by the effects of frost, and quoted statistics that complicated the puzzle, till it became evident that he had classed "chills and fevers" with chilblains.

With a similar rashness of generalization several foreign reviews have formulated an indictment against the penal code of the United States by confounding the stern vendettas of Judge Lynch with the wanton outrages of the Whitecap ruffians.

Both the successors of the vehmic courts and the masked man-hunters, it is true, assemble their surprise parties under cover of darkness, but while the former direct their indictments against criminals who contrive to defy the ordinary methods of justice, the latter generally select victims who are unable to resent the excesses of injustice.

And only the former, and by far rarer, form of interference with the functions of the legal tribunals can fairly be ascribed to a deficit of legislative safeguards. One of these defects is the lack of constitutional restrictions upon the abuse of the pardoning power. Only half a year ago a Kentucky editor published a list of twenty-seven criminals liberated from the Frankfort State Prison by a gubernatorial ukase in half as many weeks; then, commenting upon one specially grievous case, he described the indignation of law abiding citizens: "Half a hundred of our neighbors have deprived themselves of rest and sleep, have patrolled the mountain roads in rain and sleet-storms to purge this county from its stigma of lawlessness; then, after taking the outlaw red-handed, have risked their own lives to protect him from the vengeance of an infuriated mob. They are now informed that he has been turned loose to re-establish his claim to the distinction of a habitual offender, and to execute his threats of vengeance upon his captors. They may refrain from unavailing protests, but they will naturally conclude that if laws have to be broken they had better be broken at the expense of law-breakers."

Upon what slender claims to executive clemency petitions for pardon were repeatedly endorsed may be inferred from the fact that last New Year eighty-six Frankfort jailbirds signed a formal request to be let loose *en masse*, on the ground that they sympathized with the Cuban patriots, and if furnished arms and free transportation would vent their righteous wrath upon the minions of Captain-General Weyler.

Another fertile cause of mistrust in the competence of the established judicial institutions is the lack of available checks upon an abuse of the

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"challenging privilege." Under the present system any chicaning pettifogger can "pack a jury with idiots," as a Georgia magistrate expressed it, "by excluding all whose superior intelligence or means of information has enabled them to form an opinion upon the facts of the case." Impartiality is, of course, the soul and mainstay of the jury system, but the trouble is that under extant arrangements there is no way to discriminate between the prejudice of exceptional malice and the bias of exceptional intelligence. "If the formation of a previous judgment precludes the fairness of the ultimate verdict," says Prof. W. Harrington, "how many newspaper-reading judges could be admitted to the bench?"

In altogether primitive communities, like those of the California mining camps in '49, lynch law frequently becomes the only alternative of anarchy, and as such may be endorsed by the connivance, if not the outspoken approbation, of the best citizens.

The Whitecap miscreants have no such claim to public sympathy. They are not a product of the wilderness, but an excrescence of over-crowded communities, afflicted with an excess of blue laws and a dearth of legitimate pastimes, of farming districts where game and fish have become scarce, and travelling shows are seen only at long intervals.

Between Kansas and the Atlantic there are thousands of townships that have been decimated by the exodus of young men who preferred the deserts of the great central plains or the wilderness of a great city to the intolerable tedium of a treadmill existence—work relieved only by rest sufficient for another day's work. Thousands of others have avoided depopulation by utilizing the failure of such refugees, and persuading their malcontents to make the best of their home chances. Spanish rustics gamble or smoke under such circumstances, gypsies strum their guitars, lazaroni go to sleep. But our Whitecappers illustrate the truth of Charles Dickens' remark that "there is a passion for hunting something deeply implanted in the human breast," and after the extinction of coons and rabbits, have taken to hounding their non-conventional neighbors. Biologically considered, their expedient may be defined as a hybrid between the meddling instinct and the bugbear mania of our Darwinian ancestors. At sight of an unfamiliar object—a surveyor's flag or an open umbrella, a troop of Abyssinian baboons may be seen ranting and gesticulating, evidently anxious to work up a sensation at somebody's expense. The females snatch up their pot-bellied bantlings and hug them in a paroxysm of well-feigned alarm; their marriageable daughters exchange mysterious winks, and the old males slam down their fists with more and more menacing growls. Every flutter of the suspected object fans the fire of the smouldering excitement, till the whole troop huddle together to discuss *sotto voce* suggestions for the enforcement of the moral standard.

One fancies to hear an echo of such whispers in the consultations of our rural sensation-mongers. "What! that lady in Hobson's cottage sleeps with her windows wide open? Tries to catch her death of cold, probably, so they have to send her to the county hospital, and feed her on the taxes they squeeze out of working people—or wants to accommodate some visitor that is afraid to show up in daytime. And those Mormon missionaries in that camp near Wyer's Cave! Shouldn't wonder if they do not hide their squaws underground, and roast their babies when you see that fire and smoke in night time. They were seen talking to Mrs. F.; her husband had better watch out. And they steal, too, it seems; one of them was wearing

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a new overcoat that has never been seen in their camp before. Or if he did buy it, it was only to brag about the good times in that Turkish Sultan country of theirs! Bought it because the weather is getting cold? That story won't work at this time of the year; let's go and warm things up for them, anyhow."

Often, too, their victims expiate the sins of other ancestors, of middle maniacs of the Hudibras type, who surrounded the actions and words of their neighbors with a network of by-laws that have since become dead-letter statutes from the standpoint of rational magistrates, but are still preposterously alive in the skulls of amateur regulators. For many years after the Spanish Cortes had abolished the witchcraft laws, Spanish mountaineers still joined the search gangs of the *matabruxos* or "hag-killers," and the declaration of metaphysical freedom and equality has benefited only the most progressive communities of our model republic; the streets of Reactionville still resound with the whoops of the heretic hunter.

The impeachments which our midnight reformers have made pretexts of murderous assaults include charges of profanity, financial extravagance, sabbath-breaking, premature marriages, non-conventional dress ("bloomers," etc.), agnosticism, unsocial habits, disregard of warnings—contempt of court, as it were—and even failure to patronize local markets and industries. In the Western Alleghanies a gang of masked hoodlums smashed the scant household furniture of a crippled cobbler who had been caught reading Darwin on Sunday, and ordered a censor out of his house; and a Texas physician, first bullied in his office and then trying to leave town, was attacked at the depot by a cowhide brigade and beaten out of human shape for having refused to join the "Law and Order" league.

It would be absurd to say that such outrages supplement the shortcomings of our penal code; they ape the overzeal of the dark ages, and often make even the fanaticism of intolerance a cloak of much baser propensities —envy, destructiveness, and the instinctive hatred of superior intelligence.

Like ghouls masquerading in the garb of Friar Benedict, these night prowlers defy ordinary methods of self-protection, and can be exorcised only by the removal of the cause. Bushwhacker moralists who would baffle Mr. Caldwell's "counter regulators" by superior topographical knowledge might be effectually abolished by the establishment of village gymnasiums and Free Holiday leagues.

F. L. OSWALD.

THE STORING OF ATMOSPHERIC ELECTRICITY.

IT is a scientific fact that the atmosphere contains more or less electricity at all times. Over a century ago Benjamin Franklin gave a practical demonstration of this truth by drawing a current of electricity from the upper atmosphere through a kite. Other experiments of a similar nature resulted in the death of several experimenters, they having unwisely lost sight of the fact that it was necessary to have some protection in the shape of insulation in case of an overcharge.

These experiments have proved beyond doubt that electricity may be drawn from the atmosphere by simple means, all of which have been long understood and are quite natural; moreover, we know that it is easier to obtain this current under some atmospheric conditions than others. Dry air is a non-conductor and moist air a good conductor of this valuable invis-

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ible power, and the greatest amount of electricity is found when the atmosphere is charged to its full capacity with moisture.

Electricity is shown in the phenomena of thunder-storms, in the slight electrification in the air during clear weather, and in the aurora.

During the auroral display it has been possible, owing to the abundance of electricity in the air, to work telegraph lines and transmit messages for long distances without the aid of a battery. The most plausible theory of the aurora is that of Franklin, that it is caused by electric discharges in the upper air, resulting from the differing electrical conditions of the cold air of the polar regions and the warmer streams of air and vapor raised from the ocean by evaporation in tropical regions.

It is generally understood that the clear air above the earth is positively electrified, and that the air at the earth's surface is negatively electrified and its volume measured by its potential from a point above the earth to that at the surface, while the air between the upper and lower layers serves to keep the opposite charges separate.

It is usually found that in cloudy or rainy weather the charge is of a negative character and with clearing weather it changes to positive, any definite change in the electrical conditions indicating a change of weather conditions.

Atmospheric conditions must necessarily play a very essential part in the electrical potential. This being so uncertain and weather conditions so changeable, it may never be possible to obtain a constant for any given elevation; but it is possible to so govern the current drawn from the clouds or a clear sky by passing it to earth through lightning arrestors or possibly resistance coils, that by the time it reaches the desired point its potential would be so reduced as to allow its charge to be utilized in charging storage batteries.

Now, it may be said that under the most adverse conditions the current would be found too weak to be of value; but I believe that even under such conditions there would be sufficient electricity gathered to continue in force that previously stored without failure or loss of power, provided the capacity of storing is sufficient to meet the wants of an emergency of this character.

This would provide against the unstable atmospheric element, and the periods and conditions under which its greatest volume exists being known, extra precaution and provision must be made for storing for future use.

It is contended by some that the ocean affords the best facilities for gathering and storing this valuable power; I contend that, although the ocean may be the better conductor, it would be more difficult to store on the ocean than on land, for it is always an easy matter to carry a current to moist soil and there do the storing. Besides, there is in addition to be gathered the earth currents, and that artificially generated by the thousands of dynamos, etc., which is of itself to-day a vast power and is hardly utilized before the power is lost. There is nothing to prove that a current when once set in motion cannot be controlled and made a permanent power; its force, if stored, may be used over and over again, if a proper conductor is provided, after it has performed its work, to carry it to a reservoir or storage plant for future use.

Have you ever thought of the great volume of electricity which our atmosphere contains? We inhale with every breath a sufficient quantity to strengthen and invigorate us—it is one of the most important elements. There is an ebb and flood wave to our atmosphere which is similar in its action to the tides of the ocean. Its maximum pressure occurs at

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certain hours of the day and night, and its minimum at opposite hours. When the pressure is at its minimum the electrical force of our bodies is least, and at such times we are greatly enervated and weakened, and at periods of excessive humidity similar effects in our physical condition may be observed. When the atmosphere is thoroughly saturated it is a more perfect conductor, and the current readily leaves us for that offering the least resistance. All these forces tend to show and prove that there is an electrical discharge from one substance to another, and fully demonstrates that it needs but the best conductor to gather and a proper receptacle to store the electric fluid which constantly surrounds us.

Several experimenters are already employed in devising a plan for gathering and storing atmospheric electricity, and I am confident from the progress already attained in this line that it will not be many years before atmospheric electricity can be properly stored and utilized, taking the place of all lighting, heating and motor power employed at the present day.

The possibilities and uses to which this power may be applied are innumerable. I expect to see it used in every house in as simple a manner as gas or water, so that it shall be within the reach of the poor as well as the wealthy.

The earth and atmosphere were given to us for useful purposes; the earth has responded to many of our wants, and now as science progresses and we are becoming more enlightened, the possibilities of atmospheric qualities and quantities are open for experiment.

E. B. DUNN.

WHY MORE MEN DO NOT MARRY.

THE first reason that naturally suggests itself as answer to this question is the cost of living. To-day it takes more money to support a home than formerly, because what once were luxuries are now considered family necessities. Not only must the poorest city tenement-house be provided with set laundry tubs, but farmers' wives insist that their kitchens as well as their husbands' barns shall be provided with modern appliances.

A woman herself is no more expensive as the presiding genius or as the maid-of-all-work in the home than in the past. If she has more clothes than her predecessor it is because newspaper and magazine enterprise has brought the æsthetics of dress within the reach of her economics. She runs her own sewing-machine, and cuts her cheap material by the latest pattern in *Harper's Bazar*, instead of employing the village dressmaker, who has to be found as well as paid.

But apart from herself the woman, as wife and mother, demands more accessories than did her grandmother and the problematic husband counts the cost of these non-essentials before he proposes. He knows he cannot get as much out of his possible wife as his father did out of his mother, and that even if he dared to work her as hard, his doing so would furnish forth a theme for discussion at some woman's society. Naturally his vanity objects to such display of his valor as an employer, disguised as a husband. If individual men were once under the sway of individual women, the collective man is now bossed by the collective woman and dreads the dispassionate treatment he may receive from her words in clubs and social circles.

In the estimated cost of living, the prospective husband includes not so much the price of meat or flour per pound as the expense of hygienic

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conditions demanded by the spread of popular science. These really constitute the difference in cost between the past and present. A set tub is a convenience, but the necessity of another wash-room than the kitchen arises from the modern perception that it is unhealthy to have food cooked where clothes are washed and babies tended. The notion that every man, woman, and child is entitled to a yearly vacation for the sake of health is expensive. The discovery that each one needs about thirty cubic feet of fresh air each minute necessitates rent for larger or separate sleeping-rooms. Though the skill in better preparation of food, now often acquired in the public schools, diminishes the cost of waste, and less sickness is the result of increased sanitation, still the economics of hygiene foot up to a formidable potential bill in the mind of a cautious lover.

To the honor of men be it said, however, that each one of them wants his wife to live as well as do other men's wives. Disliking in imagination the possible result of such a wish, which is actuated by fear of the public as much as by love, he foresees the purchase of his furniture on the instalment plan and the final foreclosure of the mortgage on his house. He suspects that if married he will not have the strength of will to resist alike the mandates of pride and the appeals of affection, and will spend more than he can afford, when carrying also a good insurance policy, while if he remains a callous bachelor his self-regard bids him consult only his own comfort.

Man, too, is very timid about his ability not merely to maintain a wife, but to keep a home within respectable numerical proportions. He knows he should enjoy the dignity of having an heir, but he does not want too many. So in whatever light he calmly regards the subject he counts its cost. If, indeed, he has fallen in love unwittingly and irretrievably, he takes counsel of hope and expects to get along somehow.

This consideration of cost applies to all classes and conditions of men who marry as intelligent beings, which leaves a larger number of unreflecting men and women who mate with less forethought than the birds of the air. Among these classes the ratio of marriage is in inverse proportion to the income, for the less one has the more he believes in Providence or in his own self-sufficiency. Such faith accounts for most of the buoyant, inexpedient marriages that the laboring class contracts, which after all are rewarded often, if not by success, at least by indifference in feeling, as it is reasoned there is never anything bad but it might have been worse.

Among the working classes (the upper ranks of the laboring class) and through all the various sections of the middle class, this counting of cost cools the mental atmosphere for marriage; while plutocracy, feeling that at any time it can afford to do what it wishes, is at ease on the subject, turns philanthropic and endows institutions instead of wives, since the ability to do what one wants often destroys the wish to do it.

As potent as the considerations of expense are the four causes of summer-girls, education, athletics, and clubs, which lead many men not to marry.

A summer-girl is not half so serious a business as a platonic affair, though her varieties, excuses, and fritterings slowly bereave men of any notion of steadfast affection and rational enjoyment. She fastens like a parasite on the tender college youth and adores his fresh, young manliness. She leads him a jig in the dance of his feelings, too wary to accept more than bonbons, and ready to hold him in leash as a brother when he runs to sentiment. One or two such experiences teach him in turn, as he grows

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older, the art of flirtatious fencing and of breaking off in the middle of a declaration. At the end of a season his vanity has not been hurt by a refusal, and her conscience consoles her for not having brought him to the point. When he has re-established his good opinion of himself, he finds he has lost the zest for a lengthy marriage, thinks less of girls and more of his mother, and settles down as a bachelor, ready again for any test of his emotions which will not culminate in the fixity of feeling requisite for a wedding. One could moralize over the harm these experienced summer-girls inflict upon ideals of honor and loyalty if they themselves were not so capriciously bewitching and from an economic point of view so much less expensive than wives. That they injure their "sex" does not disturb their futility. Their reign is brief, and they care not that its injuries are lasting if they have got as much out of it as they could.

A middle-aged bachelor who has had many summer-girls is apt to allege as the reason of his single life that he could not find any one to marry him. Such simplicity betrays itself, even if it is courteous to womanhood. What he really means is that his summer girls have destroyed his ability to love but one person steadily.

The higher average in education which is now expected of every one has also acted as a deterrent upon a man's desire to realize his tender fancy for marriage. It is not enough to go through high school; ordinary fellows must also go to college. When a boy finishes his four years there, seven more at least lie ahead of him, if he studies a profession, before he can earn a thousand a year; or if he goes into business on his own merits and not on his father's capital he is forewarned that he must be content to remain a subordinate indefinitely. This is the price he pays for his collegiate training. It may be worth it, but few fellows get engaged on class day as did their fathers. The graduates of to-day argue that though a wife may help some, so many girls are collegians, the birth of many children hinders prosperity. Such men are too humble or fearsome to ask women to endure penury lest they fail of ultimate success. For one Palissy who burns up his household stuff and wins, there are thousands who pawn it and fail.

Besides the delay in establishing a home imposed by the demands for the higher education, the delights of knowledge in itself, which are more deeply appreciated each day, act against haste in marriage, until inclination for it has faded away. Culture is less expensive than a wife and her charms are more enduring. Fame is more manifold than home affections, and her rewards are a lien on future ages. A scholar need not now be a monk and his library can be far more to him than the actuality of a children's nursery. In the past a man, though a student, married, since marriage was the divinely ordained order of things. He took it as a matter of course, as a mere incident, not counting its consequences, which must occur in his experience as it had in that of his ancestors. Now, having outgrown alike the theological authority of marriage and the church vows of celibacy, he sees he can do as he pleases, always provided he is not in love, while the pleasures of the intellect dominate him to the exclusion of the chivalrous or selfish gratification of supporting wife and children.

There is also a physiogological result from the effects of education which must be reckoned with as a factor in the prevention of marriage, a well-recognized bit of common sense—that the more culture a man possesses the less gross are his instincts.

The advanced state of general education extends this truth from the ex-

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ceptional individual to the average thousands of intelligent people who understand the laws of economics, of hygiene and of mental growth so well that they prefer the lesser risks of bachelordom to the greater uncertainties of marriage. After all, man grows fearful as he gets educated.

It is not, however, the education of books alone which acts as a deterrent upon a man's thought of marriage, but his study of physical culture. The wide-spreading popularity of athletics has done more to destroy belief in his supposed need of marriage than any other institution or cause. Health is now a frequent foremost consideration in a young man's calculations, health to be gained independently of marriage, as gymnasiums have taken the place of false advice and curbed the morbid growth of passion.

Athletics, however, never would have attained the educational rank they now hold among the non-collegiate working classes if the colleges had not stimulated their growth, and sanctioned their games; though they have not yet awarded a scholarship for skill in them. Still, the roughest prize-fighter feels behind him this collegiate approval, which eventually will restrict brutality in any contest as athletics come to be regarded as the surest road to health, and not as an opportunity for making money by bets, prizes, or entrance fees.

The effect of this college supervision of health, of professorships in physical culture, of "Christian" gymnasiums, athletics, clubs, and swimming tanks is indirectly helping marriage to reach its true development in equality of companionship, and taking away from it those Eastern notions which vulgarized it. Belief also is lessening in the old theological doctrine of the subserviency of woman, a dogma which made her indignant, and degraded man.

Further yet reaches the effect of athletics upon marriage. The well-trained muscular man ceases to find beauty in feminine lassitude, and so working women and college girls have their gymnasia and athletic sports, which make them cope with man in health. Then when marriage is entered into as partnership of feeling as well as of means the children are well born.

Clubs also furnish another cause which induces men to postpone marriage until the habits of personal comfort have become so thoroughly established that they will not risk the friction of home arrangements. Many persons consider these clubs as the strongest preventives of marriage, but as their members are constantly grieving over the defection of their friends, who, one by one, prefer to spend their evenings in the cushioned corner of a drawing-room rather than in the jolly smoking-room of a club, it is doubtful if clubs act as a hindrance to marriage except upon those whose minds are already made up.

But clubs do foster the growth of platonics among middle-aged men, who, after they have entered its labyrinths, never emerge into the open confines of marriage. Acknowledging the necessity of woman's presence as a stimulus to their emotions and a joy to their vision, they find platonics very inexpensive compared with marriage, and less scandalous than repeated divorces.

The real objection to clubs lies in their insidiousness in slackening energy and creating selfishness. A fellow can live at them better than in his own house. He likes the obeisance of the trained waiters, and knows he cannot get from self-regardful girl-domestics that quick attention to his wishes which his club provides. He has no responsibilities there. He need

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not speak if he so elects, while at home he will at least be spoken to. He is independent, after he is admitted. Before that he is as anxious for his election as is an enamored boy for the suffrage of his summer-girl. He has comforts for which, of course, he must pay, but he is not subjected to a perpetual rise and fall in the price of food.

There he has many newspapers, instead of one, which, if he were married, his wife might desire to read at the very time he wished to peruse it. If the menu is not well cooked he can find fault without having to engage a new servant, as would be the case if he were wedded. In short, club life provides that easy affluence, personal independence, and gratification of the palate which a fellow on a small salary can command as a bachelor, but which would be impossible if he had a wife, even if both lived *a la carte*, that unsatisfactory process of mental juggling by which two persons make believe that each has had enough when both are still hungry.

Among the indeterminate factors of prevention of marriage is the growing modesty of men. They are not as self-conceited as they used to be, since their inherited self-consciousness has at last accumulated a force of self-distrust, which makes them fear they may not be accepted. They know they cannot talk about books as well as girls can; that they are liable to attacks of fretful indigestion; that they have not the patience or health to always keep on earning in support of a home. In short the complexities of modern life have unsettled their sureness about themselves. How can they tell that because they love a girl to-day they will to-morrow; that because they like to play with their nephews and nieces they would enjoy having children of their own; and that realities will be better than reveries?

In the olden time a man was pretty sure he would be accepted; now he is quite sure that he may not be. Having grown modest, he has become diplomatic and makes himself aware of the beating of a girl's pulses before he actually proposes, for he knows that merely declaring he loves her does not amount to much now-a-days. Added to his self depreciation is his nineteenth century caution and he is a better accountant than lover, as he waits for a girl to give some encouragement before he finishes in words the sentences which his acts seem to justify.

But as man is also vain as well as modest his vanity deters him from speaking too soon; for though he may be self-condemning before his inner consciousness he is eager to appear well before the world, and he had rather go on loving a girl in secret, for fear that he will be refused, than be made a fool of by showing his regard for her too openly. These secret lovers, fearful and passive, are not marrying men.

Whether or not the women of this generation are as charming as those of a past age depends on one's ideals, but certainly, as the susceptibility of women to marriage has lessened and they have become self-supporting, it is possible they do not so quickly excite the thought of love in a man's mind as of sisterly regard. Certainly if women are less attractive because of their mental and financial independence, another cause is found for dislike of marriage. After all, when a man is in love any reason fails to convince him of the folly of marriage. When he is indifferent, he is open to conviction. When he thinks he is firmly opposed to marriage then will he suddenly wed the youngest girl who will take him.

The result of the cost of living, of athletics, clubs, etc., constitutes the reasons why more men do not marry, for most men do. When migration is equalized so that some States have not a superabundance of men and others

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of women, doubtless enforced propinquity will increase marriage; but it is impossible for education to be as general as it is to-day without men's finding out their capacity to live alone and to be happy, as women have discovered their power to do the same.

Nevertheless the wise man never makes a positive statement about himself, preferring to pose problematically before himself and others, lightly discussing the past, accepting the present and smoking his way into the future. But all his caution as a bachelor does not prevent his being aware of a frail shudder passing over him at the thought of what might have been, while as a married man he is too gentlemanly to regret having taken a wife unto himself.

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